



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

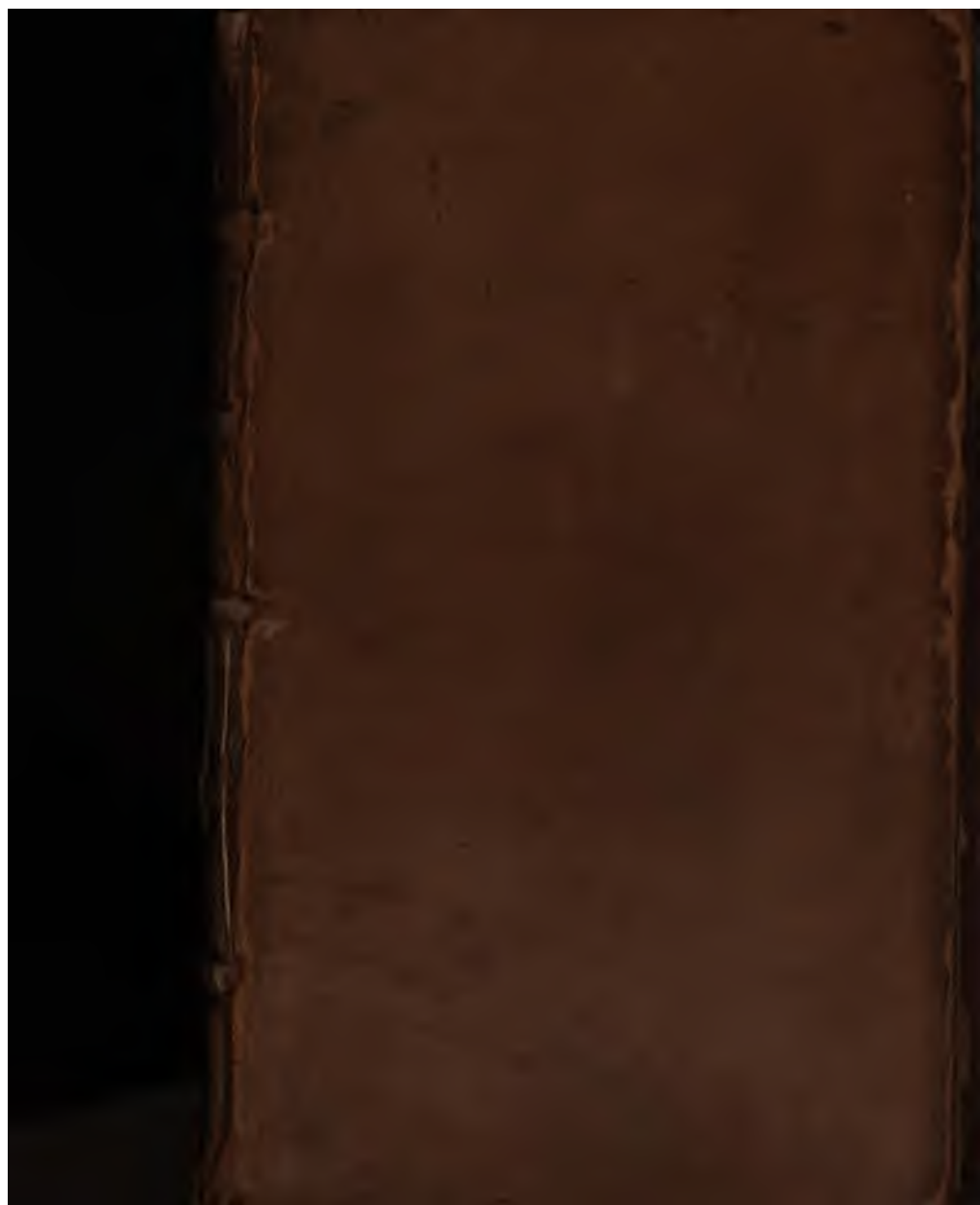
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



T H E
CRAFTSMAN.

B Y
CALEB D'ANVERS,
of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

VOL. X.



L O N D O N.
Printed for R. FRANKLIN, in *Russell-*
Street, Covent-Garden. M,DCC,XXXVII.



Sir, Abraham Hamer Bar!

DA
500
-CS8
V.10

**NON
CIRCULATING**





CRATSMAN.

WALTER D. HARRIS



10710

10710

10710

10710



100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

cont.
Churches
9-4-46
56095



THE CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 330. SATURDAY, OCT. 28, 1732.



Was fully apprized, when I first engaged myself in this Undertaking, that I should be obliged to encounter with great Opposition and many Difficulties in the Pursuit of it. I could easily foresee that *Men in Power*, who have the Disposition of *Employments* and *Rewards* in their Hands, would not want Advocates to defend their Measures; to put the most plausible Glosses on their Conduct, and endeavour to reconcile it to the general Principles of *Liberty*. But I own my Apprehensions went no farther; for it did not enter into my Thoughts that the very *first Principles of a free Government* would be disputed by Men, who call Themselves *Whigs*, and owe their Preferment to *those Principles*, however They might attempt to accommodate them to their own Purposes. I could not conceive that any Persons (especially of grave and solemn Characters) would prostitute Themselves so far as to plead openly for the Expediency of *Corruption* and *venal Dependency*; nor

VOL. X. A did

did I imagine that the Establishment of *standing Armies* and a *general Excise* would ever find any Advocates in this Nation, under the present Government.

But Experience hath proved the contrary, and convinced us of the Truth of an old Observation, that when Men are embark'd in the Defence of a *bad Cause*, They must not stick at any Measures, or Topicks, to support it. One Thing naturally draws on another, and They are obliged to proceed from Step to Step, till They are driven at last to the Fountain-Head, and the *Constitution* itself becomes the Point in Debate.

The *Doctrines*, which I have just mention'd, have certainly this Tendency, and affect the fundamental Principles of our Government. That *such Doctrines* have been advanced and defended, is too notorious and melancholy a Truth; which makes it the Duty of every *Englishman* to prevent the Propagation and Establishment of them, as far as it lies in his Power.

The Subject of *Corruption* and *Court-Dependence* hath been pretty fully explain'd already, in the Course of these Papers; and will, perhaps, be resumed at a proper Juncture.

The Dangers of *standing Armies* and *Excises* have likewise been inculcated in general Terms; but they are Subjects of so much Importance to all that is dear and valuable to us, as a great, free and flourishing People, that they deserve and require a particular Examination.

I mention these *two Points* together, because I think them, in a great Measure, dependent on each other; for as a *large Army* cannot be supported, under our present Circumstances of *Debts* and *Expences*, without *burthenfome Taxes* and *Impositions*, so it is evident from History that a *general Excise* can never be establish'd, without a *standing Army* to support it; and in these two Points consist the most terrible Ideas, which We can possibly form to our selves of *arbitrary Government*.

I shall

I shall begin with the Subject of *Excises*, and will endeavour to explain it in a Manner and Style adapted to the Capacities of all my Readers.

I chuse to enter upon this Subject at present, that it may be fully discuss'd before the Parliament meets. In this Point, at least, I shall conform myself to a Rule laid down by one of my *Adversaries*, who was formerly pleas'd to observe that the Examination of such national Points ought always to precede the *Session of Parliament*; and that every *Englishman* hath a Right, at tho'e Times, to offer his Thoughts upon such Matters as may possibly come before *that Assembly*. I hope therefore that They will not revoke this Concession, but allow me to exercise a Privilege without putting any bad Constructions upon it, which They have acknowledged to be the Right of every *Englishman*.

I will not pretend to assert that any *Minister* hath actually resolv'd to propose *such a Scheme* as I am going to examine, or prepared the necessary Materials and Calculations for it; but as it may be too late to oppose it *without Doors*, when it is brought into the *House*, I think it proper to give my Reasons against it in Time, whilst I am not precluded by Authority; and promise to consider every Thing of Weight, that shall be urged on the *other Side*.

But though I do not aver that any *Minister* hath yet embraced *such a Scheme*, I will not dissemble my Apprehension that some *Projector* may have it in his Thoughts; and I will very frankly explain my Reasons for it, as a farther Justification of this Enquiry.

About a Year and an half ago We took Notice of a Rumour, that a *certain Gentleman* had projected a Scheme for substituting a *general Excise* in the Room of the *Land-Tax*; upon which Occasion We thought proper to give our Readers some Extracts from the Writings of Mr. *Hampden* upon that Subject. This Apprehension was treated with great Contempt by Mr. *Walsingham*, who endeavour'd to ridicule it as a

false Alarm, a meer Bugbear of our own raising, in order to keep up the Spirit of Discontent; because the *Supplies for that Year* were already granted, and the Session was then drawing to an End. This deserved no Reply at that Time; for We only said that *such a Scheme* was on Foot, without designing to insinuate that it would be put in Execution that Year; yet the very next Session We saw it partly executed by reviving the *Excise upon Salt*, to make Way for the Reduction of *our Spilling in the Pound on Land*. When this Project came under the Consideration and Debate of Parliament, a certain Gentleman was pleased to promise the House that the *other Skilling on Land* should be likewise taken off, if They would consent to *some Alterations in the Collection of the Revenue*. By This He was generally understood to mean the Conversion of some *other Taxes* into *Excises*; and soon after, this Hint was explain'd to us more at large in a Pamphlet, intitled, *a Letter to a Freeholder on the Reduction of the Land-Tax*. As this Treatise was dispersed through the Kingdom by *ministerial Authority*, and must be supposed to contain the Sentiments of *Those*, in whose Service it was known to be written, I will transcribe a Passage or two from it, relating to the Subject now before us.

“ To scatter Terrors on this Occasion, says He, much Declamation hath been made Use of against a *general Excise*; as if the necessary Funds, to be provided in Ease of the *Land-Tax*, must introduce a *general Excise*. This the *Craftsman* hath raved at in Print, and his *Patrons* have not blush'd to do it in Places, where such Fallacies were not altogether so becomingly introduced. Every one knows that *those Taxes*, which publick Necessity hath laid upon the *Importation of Commodities*, have been the most grievous Burthen on the *British Commerce*. All *Home-Consumption* ought to be tax'd; but the Produce of our *Colonies*, brought hither, hath a vast

“ Disadvan-

“ Disadvantage in paying Duty upon being landed,
 “ and receiving Drawbacks on being exported. All
 “ Goods imported are more or less subject to this
 “ Grievance; and all Duties paid the Government on
 “ Importation cost the Government 10 *per Cent.* for
 “ prompt Payment. In many, if the Commodity be
 “ enter’d for *Re-exportation* within a certain Time,
 “ the Factor claims a *Drawback* of the intire Duty,
 “ and thus the Præmium, which was allow’d Him
 “ on *prompt Payment*, is absolutely and intirely lost to
 “ the Publick; by which the Nation, as the *Customs*
 “ now stand, actually loses 10 *per Cent.* on divers
 “ Branches of our Commerce. Besides, the Charges of
 “ *Commission*, &c. to the Planters and Merchants of our
 “ Colonies, which They must allow their Factors here
 “ for the Transaction of their Business at the *Custom-*
 “ *house*, are a great Load upon their Trade.

“ Other Inconveniencies arise from the Duties being
 “ paid on *Importation*, and *Drawbacks* allow’d on ex-
 “ porting them again. Numberless Frauds are com-
 “ mitted. The clandestine Running of Goods is greatly
 “ encouraged by this Method; which if changed, the
 “ People might be considerably eased, as well at home
 “ as in our Colonies abroad. Who then will be the Suf-
 “ ferer, or who will have Cause to complain against rea-
 “ sonable Methods for improving the Revenue and easing
 “ the People, by turning the most burthensome of the
 “ *Customs* on Importation into *Excises* on Home-Con-
 “ sumption? Our *Liberties* can be in no Danger from
 “ such *Excises*. They may be as safe in *this Kingdom*
 “ as in the Republick of *Holland*, under the same Re-
 “ gulations; and none will be affected by this Altera-
 “ tion but those little, mercenary Factors, who from the
 “ Lust of Lucre would have these *Customs* continued
 “ against the Interest of Trade, against the Ease of the
 “ People, meerly that They may have the private Ad-
 “ vantage of Premiums on *prompt Payment*, and *Com-*
 “ *missions* for transacting Business at the *Custom-house*.

“ But This, I am persuaded, will have so little Weight
 “ with the People of *England*, against their general Advantage, that I rather believe They will despite the
 “ Clamours and reject the Persons of Those, who
 “ oppose a *common Good*, from any such sordid Motives;
 “ especially where there is not the least Thought of
 “ any *general Excise*, nor any *Tendency* to it, nor any
 “ *Increase of Officers* proposed, that may endanger the
 “ *Liberties of the People*.

I have cited these Passages at large, and in their full Strength, that the *Author* may have no Pretence to complain of Misrepresentation, or a partial State of his Arguments. There is no Occasion to wrest his Words; for He speaks out very plainly, and avows Himself an Advocate for *Excises*, though He is pleased to disclaim the Design of a *general Excise*; but it will soon appear, in the Course of this Enquiry, whether the Practice of turning one Duty after another into *Excises* hath no *Tendency* to a *general Excise*; and whether *this Method of Taxation* can be long carry'd on, without any *Increase of Officers*, or any Danger to the *Liberties of the People*.

The Gentleman, who answer'd * *this Pamphlet*, made some cursory Observations on the *Scheme of Excises*, as it is laid down in the Passages before cited; but deferr'd the particular Examination of it to a more seasonable Juncture; yet even the few Remarks, which He dropt on this Subject, roused up the sage Mr. *Osborne*; who told us, with his usual Solemnity, that *Excises* are so far from being *Badges of Slavery*, that they are the most equitable Methods of raising Taxes; and that *though the Words* general Excise, *have by foolish Custom a frightful Idea annex'd to them*, yet a *general Excise is the most reasonable Thing in the World*.

He

* *The Case of the Revival of the SALT DUTY fully stated and consider'd, &c.*

He is pleased, indeed, to exclude all the *Necessaries of LIFE, TRADE and MANUFACTORY* from his Notion of a *general Excise*; nay, He would have it collected by the *fewest Number of Officers possible*, who ought not to be permitted to enter into *private Houses*.

— *If This can be contrived, and settled*, says He, a *general Excise will be a national Blessing*. To which I reply, that We have no Objection to *meer Words*, or *Sounds*, any more than Mr. *Osborne*; and if either He, or his *Patron*, who must be acknowledged a very great Master of *Ways and Means*, can find out a *general Tax* to supply all the present Occasions of the Government, without endangering our *Liberties*, or affecting the *Necessaries of Life, Trade and Manufactory*, I am ready to own it a *national Blessing*. But what is all This to the Purpose? Will Mr. *Osborne* pretend to say that the *Salt-Tax*, which gave Occasion to this Dispute, did not affect the *Necessaries of Life*; or will he have the Confidence to assert that the *other Excises*, pleaded for by the *Author of a Letter to a Freeholder*, are of this Nature? No; He manifestly evades the Point in the Paper now before Me, and seems to advance Arguments in one Paragraph with no other View, than to knock them down in the next, by throwing in such Restrictions as I have just mention'd. It is, indeed, exactly of a Piece with his other Writings, which discover a Consciousness that He is engaged in a *bad Cause*, by continually shuffling between his Principles, as an *Englishman*, and the Duty of his present Vocation, as a *Court-Writer*.

However, this Way of Reasoning, in Favour of *Excises*, is sufficient to give us an Alarm, as it is evidently calculated to prepare us for something of that Nature, and hath induced me to enter immediately upon the Examination of a Point, which I apprehend to be of the utmost Consequence to Great Britain.

Th:

The Reader will perceive that I design this Paper only by way of Introduction to some following Essays in which I propose to state the Nature of *Excises*, and shew how they differ from *other Taxes*, with Regard to the general Interest of *Trade* and the *Liberties of the People*. I will likewise enquire into the Origin of *this Method of Taxation*, and by what Means it was first introduced and establish'd amongst us. I will farther endeavour to prove that the *Scheme* now in Dispute tends to the Establishment of such a *general Excise*, as hath been constantly opposed in this Nation by all the *great Patrons and Assertors of Liberty*.

To these general Heads I shall occasionally subjoin such Observations on particular Branches of the Argument, as my own Enquiries, the Information of others, or the Objections of my Adversaries may suggest to me, in the Course of this Debate; for I expect to have the whole *Corps of Mercenaries* turn'd loose upon me, in order to confound Truth with Numbers, Clamour and Sophistry; but I am so fully convinced of the Merits of the Cause, that I desire only the Attention of the Publick, and the impartial Judgment of all disinterested Men. I can only add, that as I am resolv'd to spare no Pains in the Illustration of this Point; so my Readers may be assured that I will not suffer myself to be diverted from the Pursuit of it by any *personal Scurrilities*, or *Alterations foreign to the Purpose*. D.



N^o 331. SATURDAY, Nov. 4, 1732.

*Some Considerations on the Nature of EXCISES, with
Regard to the general Interest of TRADE.*



THE Subject is, without all Doubt, obliged to bear the Burthen of those *Taxes*, which are necessary to defray the publick Expences of the Nation; but then particular Care should be taken, in the Manner of levying them, not to give any just Occasion of Complaint; which will be unavoidable, where the Method of Collection tends to enflaving the Subject, and subverting the Constitution; for since all that the People pay to the Commonwealth is, in Reality, nothing else than the Price of *those Rights and Privileges*, which They enjoy under the present Government; so it is not reasonable that any, who pay their Proportion of that *Price*, should be deprived of their Share of the *Purchase*.

It often happens that the *Tax itself* does not sit so uneasy upon the People, as the *Inequality* of it, or some Severity in the *Method of collecting it*. If there either be any Partiality in the *Impositions* themselves, or if one Part of the Kingdom are deprived of the Liberties, to which They have a Right in common with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects; This will certainly work Discontent in the Hearts of such Men, and raise an Envy in Them towards Those, who enjoy the Privileges, which They are deprived of, contrary to their natural Right. Such reasonable Discontents as Those are, which arise from the Causes above-mention'd, ought always to be guarded against and prevented with the utmost Caution. They are Evils, which spread soon and wide, carry along with them violent Resentments, and have

have often proved fatal to Government itself. They take off so many Friends of it, as find themselves affected by these Evils, and drive Them into the opposite Party ; for of what Value is the best Constitution in the World to Those, who are cut off from the Benefits of it, and reduced to a State of *Slavery* in a *free Country* ? Who can wonder if such Men should be provoked to join with the Disaffected, and lay hold of all Opportunities to recover their antient, just and natural Liberties ?

The trading Part of *Great Britain* is not only a very large and opulent, but likewise the most valuable Part of it. To their Labour and Industry it is owing that this Nation is raised from a wild, uncultivated Desert, to its present Height of Riches, Grandeur and Strength. The Wisdom of our Ancestors hath therefore been always employ'd in the Encouragement of *Trade* ; and whenever the Necessities of the State hath required the Imposition of any Burthen on it, by Way of Subsidy, the Legislature hath taken Care that the *Trader* should be protected, at the same Time, in his Person and Property against the Oppressions of Those, who were employ'd in collecting those Subsidies.

I am ready to agree with the Author of a *Letter to a Freeholder*, that *those Taxes, which publick Necessity hath laid upon the Importation of Commodities, have been a very grievous Burthen on the British Commerce* ; and therefore it is a Duty incumbent on *Ministers* to ease that Burthen by all possible Methods of *Frugality* and *good OEconomy* ; but if our present Circumstances will not admit of any *Reduction of Taxes*, (which is the only effectual Relief) and the sole Dispute should be concerning *some Alterations in the Manner of collecting them*, a wise People will always chuse the *least of two Evils*, and desire to continue under *that Kind of Taxation*, which is most agreeable to the Nature of *Trade*, and the fundamental Principles of their Constitution.

This

N^o 331. *The CRAFTSMAN.* II

This leads me to the Examination of a Point, which I design to make the Subject of this Paper, by explaining the Nature of *Excises*, and shewing how they differ from *other Taxes*.

I am sorry to observe that this Point should want any Explanation ; but so it is, that few Persons except Those, who are concern'd in Trade and Merchandize, or have had the Honour to represent their Country in Parliament, or to serve the Government in some publick Post, seem to be fully apprized of the Difference between *these Taxes* ; and the *Letter-Writer* before-mention'd hath the Disingenuity, amongst all his general Arguments for *Excises*, to take no Notice of the most material Objection against them ; I mean the *Laws of Excise*.

It is therefore necessary, in the first Place, to state this Affair in a true Light.

Now, in all Disputes between the *Crown* and the *Subject*, in Cases relating to the *Customs*, the Merits of the Cause are left to the Decision of Law, according to antient Usage, in the ordinary Courts of Justice ; but the Conversion of those Subsidies into *Excises* puts the Trader under a *new Set of Laws*, formerly unknown to our Constitution, and I hope I may say without Offence, not altogether agreeable to it ; for the Powers given to the *Commissioners of Excise* in some Measure disfranchise every *freeborn Englishman*, as far as He is a Dealer in *exciseable Commodities*.

One of the most essential Parts of our Constitution, as well as the strongest Bulwark of it, is That of *Trials by Juries* ; a Privilege, which the *English* Nation hath asserted and preserved for several Ages, with Oceans of Blood and an immense Profusion of Treasure. It is This, which screens the *Small* from the Oppression of the *Great* ; the *Subject* from the unjust Resentment of the *Prince*, or the Violence of his *Ministers* ; and therefore all Attempts to suppress *this Privilege* affect our *Constitution* in one of the tenderest Parts of it, and may
be

be made use of, by *bad Ministers*, to the Introduction of arbitrary Government.

Our *English Parliaments* have always been so zealous in their Endeavours for preserving this *great Jewel of Liberty*, and transmitting it to latest Generations, that it hath been establish'd and confirm'd by the legislative Power near three-score Times, since the *Norman Conquest*. It is, indeed, the most essential Privilege of *Magna Charta* itself, which is the Foundation of our Liberties, and so deeply engraven in the Hearts of the People.

Give me Leave to repeat, that this great and fundamental Privilege is preserved to the Subject in all our Laws relating to the *Customs*, or *Duties on Importation*; but turning the *Customs* into *Excises on Home-Consumption*, according to the *Letter-writer's Scheme*, is putting the Trader under a *Set of Officers*, who have Power to interpret and execute the Laws in a *summary Manner*; for here the Subject is condemn'd without *Trial by Juries*, in the usual Manner, and left without any *dernier Resort of Justice*, unless it be to the *Commissioners of Appeal*, which is a Kind of *finecure, dependent Commission*, under which the Subject is try'd by his adverse Party; the *Commissioners* and their *inferior Officers* being Prosecutors, Evidence, Judges and Executioners.—Persons invested with such a Power, and under such Circumstances, will seldom or never lose a Cause.

In all other Cases, whether they relate to *private Property*, or lye between the *Crown* and the *Subject*, the Cause is not left to the Determination of the *Judges*, tho' their † Commission is not so precarious as That of

† In former Reigns, the Judges held their Places only during the King's Pleasure; but This was found to be attended with so many bad Consequences, that it is provided by the Act of Settlement, that They shall hold them, during good Behaviour.

the *Excise*. They are under an Oath to do impartial Justice according to Law. They must likewise have the Concurrence of the Verdict of *twelve indifferent Men in the Neighbourhood*, who are supposed to be acquainted with the *Parties*, and are sworn to try the Cause between Them, according to the Evidence given in Court. They are not obliged to follow the Direction, or Charge of the *Judge*, unless it happens to agree with their own Sentiments and Consciences. Nay farther, by a late Act for *regulating Juries*, these *twelve Men* must be chosen by *Ballot* in open Court from no less a Number than *Seventy*, to be return'd by the Sheriff; unless either Party demand a *SPECIAL JURY*, of which I have taken Notice in a former Paper.

Let us now consider the Case of the poor *Trader*. He is left to the final Determination of the *Commissioners of Excise*; who are not his *Equals*, or *Neighbours*, and therefore cannot be supposed to be acquainted with his *Person* and *Character*. They are nominated by the *Crown*, and depend upon its Pleasure for the Continuance of their Places. They are under a strict Injunction to take Care of the *Revenue*, and not ty'd down to the Rules of *Westminster-Hall*. So that when any Controversy comes before Them, We cannot be surprized if They act many Times as if They thought it their Duty to be severe, because the more Fines They lay upon the Subject, the more Money They bring into the King's Coffers; nor that *bad Men* may be tempted to make this the Tenure, by which They hold their *Places*.

But This is not the only Objection against *Excise Laws*, with Regard to *Trade*, though I think it so material, that it ought singly to weigh down all the Arguments, which have yet been advanced in Favour of them.

However, let us view this Affair in another Light.

In *Duties upon Importation*, a Man hath full Power over his Goods, as soon as He clears them of the *Custom-house* and gets them home. He may di'po'e of them as He pleases, without any Body's Leave, and is not subject to the capricious Humour of every *little Officer*, who may take it into his Head, or perhaps think it meritorious, to give Him as much Disturbance as possible in the Execution of his Duty. The *Trader*, in this Case, is not liable to have his Shop, or Warehouse ransack'd, without Information upon Oath that some contraband Goods are conceal'd in them; nay, even then a Warrant must be granted by a *civil Magistrate*, and executed in Presence of a *Peace-Officer*, in Day-Time only, according to the usual and antient Forms of Law.

On the other Hand, by the *Laws of Exciſe*, no Man is at Liberty to remove his Goods from the Place, where they were first deposited, without Leave from an *Officer* for so doing, to the great Interruption of his other Business, and often to the Prejudice of his particular Dealings and Contracts.

As the *Imprisonment of the Body* is next to the *Loss of Life*, so the *Confinement of Property* is next to *taking it away*; yet thus it is with *exciseable Goods*. They are shut up in Shops and Warehouses under severe Keepers, appointed by the *Crown*, and cannot be moved from thence, or disposed of in a fair Way of Trade, (though the *Duties* have been paid) without a *Permit*, or *Habeas Corpus*; being taken like *Felons* and condemn'd, if they are found without it. This is such an Instance of *Severity*, and such a Restraint upon *Trade*, as is hardly to be parallel'd in any *free Country*.

Industry hath its Foundation on *Liberty*; and those Men, who either are actually *Slaves*, or have Reason to believe their Freedom precarious, will never succeed in *Trade*, which thrives and flourishes most in Climates of *Liberty* and *Ease*. These keep the present Inhabitants at home, and invite others to settle amongst Them,
more

more than the Pleasantness of Situation, or the wholesome Temperature of Air. There are many Instances of fruitful and delightful Countries, which have been impoverish'd and almost depopulated, in Spight of Nature, by Severities in Government. To This it is owing that *Trade* hath been lost to *one Nation* and obtain'd by *another*. We *Britons* have particularly experienced This, in former Ages, to our infinite Advantage; and I hope We shall never act so weak a Part as to adopt those Methods of Government, which have destroy'd Trade in *other Countries*, or to withdraw those Privileges and Encouragements, which have carry'd it to so great an Height in *our own*.

It ought likewise to be particularly consider'd, at this Time, that all the Nations in *Europe* are turning their Thoughts to *Traffick*, and even in those Countries, where the Government is absolute in other Respects, They make it their Study to ease the *Merchants*, and encourage both Natives and Foreigners to settle Commerce with Them.

Shall We, on the other Hand, encourage *their Attempts*, by laying all the Burthens and Restraints We can invent on our *own Trade*? — Is This a Time for us to clog it with new Difficulties, or to put the *British Merchants* under any farther Uneasinesses, after all the Embarrassments, Interruptions and Depredations, which They have already suffer'd with so much Patience, for several Years past? — Will not This look as if We intended to provoke Them, by all possible Methods, to withdraw from us, and settle in those Countries, where They can carry on their Traffick with more Freedom; or compel Them to lay it aside at home, in order to live more at Ease, and enjoy the *Liberties of their Country*, in common with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects? — How prejudicial must This be to a *trading Nation*? — Will it not take off the ablest Hands from the Interest of Trade, and oblige Them to turn their Money into other Channels? — Is it not eternally

true that the greater the Stock, and the more People are employ'd in *Commerce*, the more extensive and beneficial it will be in any Country?—This is certainly the only true Method of increasing the national Stock; and this Stock, as I observed before, is the Foundation of our national Strength and Grandeur.

Several other Reasons might be urged against *this Scheme of Excises*; but as they are of a more particular Nature, I chuse to reserve them for another Place, when I come to consider the *Letter-writer's* Objections to *Duties on Importation*, and his Arguments in Favour of *Excises*. At present, I confine myself to general Topicks, and hope I have sufficiently explain'd the mischievous Effects of *Excise Laws*, (if they should become *general*) with Regard to *Trade*, and the whole Body of *British Merchants*. C. D.



N^o 332. SATURDAY, *Novem. 11*, 1732.

The Nature of Excises consider'd, with Regard to
NATIONAL LIBERTY.



WE have already examined the Case of *Excises*, according to the *Letter-writer's* Scheme, with Respect to the Interest of *Trade*; and if We carry our Enquiries a little farther, We shall find them equally repugnant to the Principles of *popular Liberty*, as well as equally dangerous to the Constitution of a *free Country*.

This Point is likewise explain'd in our last Paper, as far as it concerns the *trading Part* of the Nation; which is so very considerable a Body of Men, in every Respect,

Respect, that if their Interests only were concern'd in *this Scheme*, there would be no Occasion for any other Arguments against it.

It hath been often objected against the Act, *for punishing Mutiny and Desertion*, in Times of Peace, that it is of dangerous Consequence to put *one Part of the Nation* under different Laws from the *rest*, and that Men, who are thus in a Manner cut off from the common Benefits of the Constitution, will have but little Regard for it, and may be tempted to reduce their Fellow-Subjects to the same Condition with Themselves.

I apprehend that this Objection will hold much stronger against *Excise Laws*, which are indeed very much like *martial Laws*, both in their Nature and Execution; with this Difference, that whereas *martial Laws* are continued only from Year to Year, *Excise Laws* are commonly made perpetual, or at least for a long Term of Years. Besides, it will be allow'd, I suppose, that as *Trade* is more beneficial to the Kingdom than a *standing Army*, so the *British Merchants* will always be more popular than *military People*, and find more Adherents, when their Interests are essentially concern'd. They are the Heart-blood of the Body-political, which circulates thro' every Part of it; and whatever Hardships are laid upon Them will diffuse themselves in the same Manner through the whole Mass of the People.

I have said thus much to explain my former Observation, that the Fate of the whole Kingdom depends, in a great Measure, on the Welfare of the *British Merchants*.

Let us however consider *Excises* in a general View, as I promised at the Beginning of this Paper, and without any Regard to *mercantile Persons*.

The *Letter-writer* tells us, in Behalf of his *Scheme*, that *our Liberties can be in no Danger from such Excises*. I wish He had thought fit to explain Himself a little

farther, and let us know what He means by the *Liberty*, because it is an equivocal Term, and some / sons seem resolv'd to make us accept of it in the low Sense. As the *Letter-writer* is an Advocate for the *honourable Gentlemen*, He may perhaps mean that are in no Danger of being *shut up in Dungeons, chain'd to Oars*, but shall be left at full Liberty to *le* or *starve where We please*. This, I say, may be Meaning; for He may argue, with his usual Acatene that our Liberties cannot be said to be taken away, whilst our Bodies are free; and I must do Him the Justice to acknowledge that this Kind of *corporal Liberty* may not be in any immediate Danger from *this Project*. But He must give me Leave, at the same Time, to observe that This is not the Sense, in which I always understood the *Liberties of Great Britain*; for as *Poverty* and *Slavery* are commonly and very justly join'd together, so I can never think, or speak of *Liberty*, without annexing some Ideas of *Ease, Plenty, and Prosperity* to it. Why do We always chuse to call ourselves a *free* and a *flourishing People*? Is it not because We apprehend them to be necessary Consequences of each other? They are, indeed, convertible Terms; and as no People can be truly said to be in a *flourishing State*, when They are not *free*, so They cannot long continue to be *free*, when They cease to *flourish*.

If this Reasoning is just, it will follow that a *free People* ought to be loaded with as *few Taxes* as possible, and Those to be levy'd in a Manner agreeable to their Constitution; nay, that They will lose all the Advantages and even the Denomination of *Freemen*, when either the Weight of *Taxes* themselves, or the Manner of collecting them, reduces Them to *Beggary* and *Dependence*, which are properly the Circumstances and Characteristicks of *Slaves*.

When I mention *Poverty* as a Mark, or Badge of *Slavery*, I am not insensible that antient History furnishes us with several Instances of *great States*, which not only

ly flourish'd under a *general Poverty*, but even owed the Preservation of their *Liberty* to it. Of this Sort was the famous Republick of *Rome*, and several States of *Greece*. But let it be remember'd that This was owing to the Policy of their Government, which made *Poverty* and *Contempt of Riches* the most shining Instances of heroic Virtue. Nor was this Principle calculated only for the meaner Sort of People; but *every Man*, as the Abbot de Vertot observes of the *Romans*, *thought Himself sufficiently wealthy in the Riches of the State, and the Generals, as well as the common Soldiers, received their Subsistence only from their own little Patrimony, which They cultivated with their own Hands.* Such a State of *Equality* as This made *Poverty* honourable, instead of scandalous, and raised an Emulation amongst all Ranks of People to serve the Publick, without any View to private Advantage. This glorious Principle was carry'd to so great an Height in those Ages, that it was common to see Men lay down the Command of *victorious Armies*, the Trust of the *publick Treasure*, and other *high Offices of the State* as poor, or poorer than They went into them, and return to the *Plough*, from whence They were call'd to the Service of their Country. Besides, the *Poverty* of those antient Heroes was made easy to Them by the fashionable and prevailing Habits of *Temperance* and *Frugality*. It did not consist in the Want of the *common Necessaries* and *Conveniences of Life*, like the *Poverty* We are speaking of, but only in an Abstinence from all *Superfluities* and *Extravagance*; for as soon as *Luxury* and *Ambition* had made Them *really necessitous*, and their Necessities *corrupt*, They soon became a Prey to the Invaders of their *Liberties*. — But it is ridiculous to compare *those Times* to the *present*, or their *Governments* to *ours*, whose Constitution and Maxims of Policy are so very different. I mention it only to obviate such an Objection, and shall now return to the Subject of this Paper, without any farther Digression.

As the Riches and Strength of this Nation are undeniably owing to our *Commerce*, so it is equally certain that our *Commerce* is supported by the Produce of our Lands, both at home and abroad, which turn the Balance of *Trade* in our Favour. Whenever therefore the Price of our *Commodities* and *Manufactures* is so far advanced by high Duties and Incumbrances upon them, that other Nations can afford to undersell us, and drive our Merchants out of foreign Markets; the Consequence must be, that our *Riches* and *Power* will sink away with our *Trade*; a general Scene of *Poverty* will spread itself by Degrees amongst all Ranks of People; and I am afraid it will appear that our *Liberties* will decline in Proportion.

I find myself running back again to the Subject of *Trade*; and, indeed, the *Liberties* of the whole Nation are so closely connected and interwoven with it, that it is impossible to divide them intirely from each other.

But whatever may be thought of *Commerce*, or the *Merchants*, there is one Point in the *Scheme of Excises*, which affects us all, as *Englishmen* and *Freemen*, in the most sensible Manner, however separate from, or unconcern'd in *Trade*; I mean the Number of *Officers*, which must be quarter'd upon us for that Purpose.

It is agreed on all Hands that the Happiness of this Nation consists in being govern'd by Laws of our *own making*; That is, by our *Deputies* and *Representatives*. This is the fundamental Principle of our Constitution, on which our *Liberties* and *Properties* depend. Whatever therefore tends, in any Degree, to the Infringement of the Privileges and Independency of *that Assembly*, is sufficient to give us a reasonable Jealousy, and ought to be oppos'd with the utmost Vigour.

The great Burthen of our *national Debts*, and the Multiplicity of *Officers*, occasion'd by them, besides a numerous *standing Army*, have already given the *Crown* a prodigious Addition of Power, unknown to our Forefathers. The present Number of *these Officers*, *civili*
and

and *military*, is so very large, that it is impossible to make any just Computation of them. Most of these Gentlemen are absolutely dependent on the *Crown*, which hath the sole Power of putting Them in and turning Them out of their Employments. Many of Them are Persons of such distinguish'd Figure, Fortune and Interest in their respective Counties, that They are either chosen *Members of Parliament themselves*, or have a very great Influence in the *Election of others*. The subaltern Part of Them have likewise a proportionable Interest, which They are obliged to make Use of, whatever may be their natural Principles, according to the Direction of their *Superiors*.

Perhaps, it may not be proper, or safe, to explain this Point any farther, with Regard to the *Officers already establish'd*; but I hope every *Englishman* is at Liberty to offer his Sentiments against the *Increase of Them*, especially Those of the *Excise*.

The *Letter-writer* told us, at the Beginning of last Summer, *that the Liberties of the People will not be affected by six hundred Salt-Officers*; to which it was answer'd at that Time, and may be repeated now, *that the Liberties of such a Nation as This cannot, indeed, be over-run by six hundred Salt-Officers only*; but then it was ask'd, *whether such a Number, added to the vast Multitude before subsisting, was of no Weight in the Scale*; or *why the Clause*, to restrain Them from voting in Elections, *was rejected*? And *whether this Method of Reasoning would not justify the Addition of six hundred more, every Year, till at last They swarm like Locusts over the Land, and render a military Army unnecessary to execute any Purposes*?

The *Letter-writer* likewise told us, in the Passages formerly cited, *that there is not any Increase of Officers proposed, that may endanger the Liberties of the People*.

This is a very ambiguous Form of Expression, and it is difficult to determine whether He means that there
is

is *no Increase of Officers proposed AT ALL; or no SUCH INCREASE as may endanger the Liberties of the People.* If He means the *latter*, as I am inclined to think He does, the same Questions will recur, that were ask'd concerning the *six hundred Salt-Officers*; and He would do well to inform us how far *these new Levies* are to be carry'd on; what is the *Compliment* propos'd; or whether We must not expect to see any Stop put to them till all our *Taxes and Duties* are converted into *Excises*. We might likewise ask very properly, in this Place, whether such a gradual Progression from Year to Year, hath no *Tendency to a GENERAL EXCISE?* — But of That We design to speak more fully in another Place.

If the *Letter-writer* means that *these additional Excises* will not make any *Increase of Officers* necessary, We ought to look upon it only as a *Sugar-Plumb* to make us swallow down so *bitter a Potion*; for I am very well assured, by Persons conversant in these Affairs, that it is impossible for the *present Officers*, numerous as They are, to execute it in such a Manner as to answer the Ends propos'd by it. Nay, should the *honourable Gentleman*, who is said to design us this Favour, undertake to execute it at first without any *additional Officers*, He will soon find it impracticable; and when the *Scheme* itself is once establish'd, an *Increase of Officers* will be easily obtain'd, if it is found necessary.

I can think of but *two Objections*, that can possibly be made against the Arguments advanced in this Paper, concerning the Danger of *Excises* to our *national Liberties*.

In the *first Place*, it may be objected that the *Officers in the Receipt of the Revenue* are already prohibited by several Acts of Parliament from *intermeddling in Elections*; and therefore all our Apprehensions, on that Account, are vain and groundless.

To which I reply, that They are not prohibited by these Laws from *voting Themselves*, but only from tampering

pering with and influencing *others*. Besides, it is notorious from Experience that all the Acts of Parliaments in the World, with all the Penalties annex'd to them, have never and will never be able to suppress this *unwarrantable Practice*. I could mention *some late Agents for Elections*, whose whole Interest depended on their Power of recommending Persons to *Offices in the Revenue*. But This is needless at present; for even the *Letter-writer* himself (if I do not mistake his Meaning) seems to acknowledge the Influence of *those Gentlemen*, when He tells us *that there is no Increase of Officers proposed, that may endanger the Liberties of the People*. Nay, I will go still farther, and even suppose that all Persons concern'd in the *Collection of the Revenue* will strictly conform Themselves to the Letter of the *Laws*, and refrain from *intermeddling in Elections, by Word, or Writing, or Message*; yet, even in that Case, They will have an Influence by Virtue of their *Employments*; and many People under their Power (such as *Alehouse-keepers* and *little Retailers of exciseable Commodities*) will be induced to vote agreeably to their known Inclinations, for fear of being harass'd and molested by Them, on some future Occasion.

Another Objection, which may possibly be made to our Arguments, is that if *Custom-house Officers* will venture to break through the Laws, They will have as much Influence over *Elections* as *Excise Officers*, and therefore our *Liberties* can be in no more Danger from *one* than the *other*; but this Objection is partly answer'd already by what We have said in our last Paper, concerning the *Laws of Excise*, which make a very material Difference in the Case. Besides, We are ready to allow that *Custom-house Officers* have had too much Influence in several Counties, particularly in *Cornwall*; but their Power is chiefly confined to *Sea-Port Towns*, and *Boroughs along the Sea-Coast*; whereas a general Conversion of *Customs* into *Excises* will spread Them through all the *inland Parts of the Kingdom*; and if

That

That should ever come to be the Case, I leave every impartial Man to judge *whether our Liberties will be in no Danger.* D.



N^o 333. SATURDAY, Nov. 18, 1732.

An Enquiry into the Origin of EXCISES, and the Methods, by which they were first introduced and establish'd in this Kingdom.



IN former Times the Kings of *England*, like other *Gottick* Princes, supported Themselves by their *Demejnes*, or those Estates, which were allotted to Them upon the Partition of conquer'd Lands; but, in Process of Time, those Revenues being alienated from the *Crown*, and granted away to *Ministers* and *Favourites*, our Kings were obliged to ask *Aids* and *Subsidies* from their People. It hath been Matter of Dispute whether the antient, or modern Way of providing for the *Crown*, is most agreeable to the Ease and Dignity of the *Prince*, as well as the Liberties of the *People*. Those, who have written in Favour of an *hereditary Land-Revenue*, give for their Reasons that it is more honourable for the *King* to subsist upon an Estate, which He can call *his own*, than upon the Labour, Manufactures and Trade of his *Subjects*; and that what He received by *these Tenures* came chearfully from the People, because They had good Bargains from the *Crown*. On the other Hand, it is alledged that the *personal Service*, by which the People held their Estates, was very oppressive, and kept Them in a State of Servitude and Dependency on the *Crown*; that *bad Kings*, who had such large

large Revenues of their own, might be tempted to make Themſelves abſolute, as ſeveral had endeavour'd to do; and that the *Liberties of the People* are more ſecure, whiſt the *Prince* is obliged to rely on *Them* for his Maintenance and Support. Theſe Arguments, no doubt, would be allow'd to carry a great deal of Weight, if We could always be ſure of having a *wiſe, honeſt and uncorrupt Parliament*; but as this Diſpute is not of any immediate Conſequence to the preſent Enquiry, I mention it only by Way of Introduction to this Eſſay.

A good Writer upon *Trade* obſerves very juſtly, that thoſe Loads upon *Industry, high Customs,* and “ what we call *Excises* were on Foot in the *Roman* “ Empire, and amongſt the *Eastern Kings*, but not “ thought of in theſe *Gothick Settlements*. It is true, “ ſays He, from the Time Kings have deſired *greater* “ *Armies* than their *Crown-Revenues* would maintain, “ ſuch *Impoſitions* have been revived in this Part of “ Europe. — He proceeds thus.

“ Theſe Kind of *Taxes*, from which this Side of “ the World had been exempt for ſeveral Ages, were “ renew'd by *ambitious Princes*, who had great “ Thoughts and a ſmall Territory; of which Kind “ were *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo* of *Aragon*, Kings of “ *Naples*, and *Lodowick Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*; who “ harraſ'd their Countries with *theſe Sorts of Duties* “ to ſuch a Degree, that at laſt it produced an uni- “ verſal Deſection of their People. By theſe Ways and “ Means of raiſing Money, *Lodowick Sforza* had “ heap'd up ſuch a Maſs of Wealth, that not “ eight Years before *Milan* was taken, He ſhew'd ſe- “ veral foreign Miniſters, 1. Way of Oſtentation, (be- “ ſides Jewels and other Sorts of Riches, in no ſmall “ Quantities) to the Value of *one Million, five hun-* “ *dred thouſand Ducats*; a vaſt Sum for thoſe Times. “ The Kings of *Naples* had likewise ſcraped up a “ great Treafure, by the like Methods; but what did “ all

“ all This end in ? These Exactions had so provoked
 “ the People, that neither the Innocence and Virtue
 “ of *Ferdinand*, *Alphonso's* Son, nor the dark Wiidom
 “ and Subtleties of *Lodowick* could avail Them in
 “ Time of Danger ; insomuch that They both lost
 “ their Dominions to the *French*, without hardly striking
 “ a Blow. The Necessities, introduced by the long
 “ Wars in *Italy*, brought *these Sorts of Taxes* more in
 “ Vogue, and They were chiefly made Use of by the
 “ *little Princes* there, who erected to Themselves Ty-
 “ rannies in several Cities. Not long after, *this Way*
 “ *of raising Money* got Footing in *Spain*, and the Tax
 “ was called the *Akabila* ; by which the King was
 “ to have the tenth Part of all, that was sold, or ex-
 “ changed. It was first laid towards defraying the
 “ Expences of the Wars of *Granada* against the *Moors*,
 “ and continued for some Time, though the War was
 “ ended ; but by the Authority of that *great Minister*,
 “ Cardinal *Ximenes*, it was abolish'd. They had like-
 “ wise Taxes upon the *Consumption*, long ago, in
 “ *France*, as in the Reign of *Chilperic* ; which the
 “ People thought so burthensome, that many deserted
 “ their Country upon that Account, and We hear
 “ not of them again in their Histories, till some Ages
 “ after.

“ And as to *Excises*, *Gabels*, and *big Duties upon*
 “ *Trade*, they were unknown amongst the Founders of
 “ the *English Government*, or of the Kingdoms round
 “ about us.

The *same Gentleman* observes, in another Place,
 “ that *France* was once upon a right Foot, in Relation
 “ to its *Liberties*, but that They, who peruse their
 “ Histories with Care, will find that *arbitrary Power*
 “ did not so much bring in *big Taxes*, as that *big*
 “ *Taxes* introduced *arbitrary Power* ; for when that
 “ golden Idol of an *immense Revenue* was set up, all
 “ the Nation bow'd to it.

I have

I have quoted these Passages from a very good Judge of *Trade*, to let my Readers see his Opinion upon this Subject. It is true, indeed, that He mentions *Customs* and *Excises* together, without making any Distinction between them, because his Design was to shew the mischievous Consequences of both to the Interest of *Trade*; but as the present Dispute lies between *these two Kinds of Taxing*, and I have undertaken to prove the Preference of *one* to the *other*, it is necessary to explain this Point a little farther.

The *Tributes, Aids, or Subsidies*, which our Ancestors granted to the King, for the current Service of the Government, upon the Alienation of *Crown Lands*, consisted in certain Duties on the Importation, or Exportation of *Goods and Merchandize*; which in Length of Time obtain'd the Denomination of *Customs*, because those Duties had been *usually, or customarily* paid; but *Excises* are Inventions of so modern a Date, that the very Name is not to be found in our *Law-Books* till about the Middle of the last Century.

The first Attempt to introduce *these Taxes* into *England* was in the Year 1626, by Way of *Commission under the great Seal*; but the Parliament remonstrated against it as illegal, because *without the Consent of the People*, and several of the Members, in their Speeches, inveigh'd against *that Manner of Taxation*. The best Account of that Affair, which I have seen, is in a Book, intitled *the Case of the Bankers, &c.* written by Mr. Turnor, a Barrister of *Gray's-Inn*; from which I think it proper to give my Readers the following Extracts.

“ A Commission of *Excise*, says He, was issued
 “ to *thirty-three Lords and others of the Privy Council*,
 “ in which They are commanded to raise Money by
 “ *Impositions*, or otherwise, as They in their Judgment shall find to be most convenient; but because
 “ This was without the *Consent of the People*, it
 “ was adjudged by both Houses *contrary to Law*,

“ and the *Lords* desired that this *Commission of Excise*
 “ might be cancell’d, and shortly after it was cancell’d
 “ by the *King*, and thereupon brought so cancell’d
 “ into the *House of Lords* by the *Lord-Keeper*, and
 “ by the *Lords* so sent to the *Commons*.

He adds, that “ when Subsidies, of a *new and extraordinary Nature*, have been heretofore agitated in
 “ Parliament, though for the necessary Defence of the
 “ Realm, yet the *Commons* of that Age have answer’d
 “ that They durst not agree thereto, till They had
 “ confer’d with the *Counsell* and *Foroughs*, for which
 “ They served; *which Sir Edward Coke also saith is*
 “ *a Law and Custom of Parliament*. Nay, when the
 “ Point debated hath been of Concernment to *one*
 “ *particular Body of Men* in the Kingdom, as the *MERCHANTS, &c.* the *Commons* would determine no-
 “ thing therein, till They had first consulted the *MERCHANTS*
 “ themselves, how far the Matter might
 “ stand with their Profit and Convenience.

Thus was the first Attempt to introduce *Excises* in
 this Kingdom defeated by Parliament, out of Regard
 to Trade and a Tenderneis for the *British Merchants*;
 but the next Effort had more Success, in the Times
 of our *civil Wars*, when the *Parliament*, having try’d
 all other Methods of raising Money to pay their Army,
 were obliged to make Use of an *Excise*; yet though
 They pleaded *absolute Necessity*, in Excuse for this Ex-
 pedient, and continued it only from Month to Month,
 the Execution of it rais’d a Sedition in *London*, and
 nothing but a *large standing Army* could have forced
 it down upon the People even at that Time, when
 They were generally disaffected to the *Court*, and sided
 with the *Parliament* against it.

I beg Leave, in this Place, to quote a Passage or
 two from *Howel’s Letters*, which were written at
 that Time, and contain some very pertinent Observa-
 tions on the same Subject.

In one of these Letters to a Friend at *Brussels*, after giving an Account of the great Confusions amongst us here, He goes on thus. "Who would ever have thought that the *Excise* would have taken Footing here; a Word, I remember, in the last Parliament save one, so odious, that when Sir *Dudley Carleton*, then Secrétary of State, did but name it in the *House of Commons*, He was like to have been sent to the *Tower*, although He named it to no ill Sense, but to shew what Advantage and Happiness the People of *England* had over other Nations; having neither the *Gabels of Italy*, the *Talles of France*, or the *Excise of Holland* upon Them; yet, upon This, he was suddenly interrupted, and called to the *Bar*.—*This Letter was dated August the 2d, 1644.*

In another Letter, sent to *Amsterdam*, He says; "They have mutiny'd in diverse Parts about the *Excise*; a Bird, that was first hatch'd in *Holland*. Here in *London* the Tumult came to that Height, that They burnt down to the Ground the *Excise-House* in *Smithfield*; and God grant, *says He*, that our *Excise* here may not have the same Fortune as Those in *Holland*, to become perpetual; or as the new *Gabel* of *Orleans*, which began in the Time of the *League*, and continueth to this Day, notwithstanding the Cause ceased about threescore Years since; touching which a pleasant Tale is recorded of *Henry the great*, who, some Years after Peace was establish'd throughout all the whole Body of *France*, going to his own Town of *Orleans*, the Citizens petition'd Him that the new *Tax* might be abolish'd. The King ask'd, *who impos'd it upon Them?* They answer'd, *Monsieur de la Chartre*, during the Time of the civil Wars of the *League*, who was now dead. The King reply'd, *Monsieur de la Chartre leagu'd you; let Him then unleague you, for my Part.* —*Dated Sept. the 2d, 1645.*

King *Charles the first* takes Notice of this extraordinary Step, in one of his Declarations, and charges the Parliament with imposing *insupportable Taxes* and *ODIOUS EXCISES upon their Fellow Subjects*, though He afterwards made Use of the same Method himself. Thus was the whole Kingdom saddled with *Excises* by two different Authorities, at the same Time; and my Lord *Clarendon* observes upon it, *that both Sides made ample Declarations, with bitter Reproaches upon the Necessity, that drew on this Imposition, that it should be continued no longer than to the End of the War, and then laid down and utterly abolish'd; which few wise Men, says He, believed would ever be.*

Excises being thus introduced amongst us, during the *civil War*, We cannot be surprized to find the *same Method of Taxing* continued and establish'd after the *Restoration*; since it was natural for the *Court-Party* to build upon such a *Precedent*, as all Parties are apt to do, and to argue that it would be unreasonable and highly disrespectful to refuse his Majesty the *same*, or the *like Duties* with Those, which had been laid upon the People, under an Usurpation, by the pretended Assertors of *Liberty*; especially since his Misfortunes and long Exile, with the particular Circumstances of those Times, had put Him under great Necessities for Money. This, I say, was a plausible Argument, and nobody can wonder that it prevail'd in the first Honey-Moon of Joy, upon that great Turn of Affairs; but the Methods and Artifices, by which the *Court* accomplish'd their Scheme, deserve our farther Consideration.

The *Court of Wards* had long been a most terrible Grievance to the whole Nation, as it subjected every Man's Estate to the Power of the *Crown*, and made the landed Men of *England* little better than *Tenants for Life*. The *House of Commons* had often endeavour'd to get *this Court* abolish'd, and soon after the *Restoration* renew'd their Instances to that Purpose; but

but first of all it was necessary to give the King an Equivalent for it, and after several Deliberations on that Subject, it was agreed to settle 100,000*l. per Ann.* on the *Crown*, in Lieu of the *Court of Wards*. Several Schemes were likewise offer'd for raising this Money; but at last They resolv'd to lay it upon *Land*, and appointed a *Committee* to settle an *equal Rate* upon every County towards it.

It deserves a Remark, that this Sum of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* was above as much again as the Crown gain'd by the *Court of Wards*; for though it was an intolerable Grievance to the Subject, yet as the *Wardships* were commonly granted away to *Ministers* and *Favourites*, the King got but little by them Himself, besides Ill-will.

However, the *Parliament* did not stick at the Price, but were resolv'd, as We shall see immediately, to free Themselves and their Country from the Dominion of such an *arbitrary Court* at any Expence.

The *Committee* having settled a *new Rate*, reported it to the House, in Pursuance of their Order, and it is enter'd in the *Journal*; but in the mean Time, the King was advis'd by his *Ministers*, or some *little selfish Projectors*, who always swarm about Courts, to ask for a Grant of the *Excise upon Beer and Ale*, instead of the *Equivalent on Land*. They represent'd to Him that the *Excise* would bring in five or six Times as much as the *Commons* propos'd to give Him in the *other Method*; and, perhaps, some Arts might be made use of to draw the *Land-holders* into this Scheme, by terrifying Them with the Prospect of a *Land-Tax*, which would be a perpetual Mortgage and Incumbrance on their Estates. Be That as it will, the King was encouraged to attempt it, and boldly ask'd for the *whole Excise* at once; That is, for one Moiety of it to be settled *in Fee on the Crown*, as a Recompence for abolishing the *Court of Wards*, and the other Moiety *on Himself for Life*. The *first Part* of this Scheme pass'd

pass'd very glibly, by bribing some of the Members and threatening others with a Dissolution. But at first a Negative was put on the *latter Part* of it; which enraged the Court to a great Degree, though the *Moiety*, which They had already obtain'd, amounted to 300,000 *l.* instead of 100,000 *l.* propos'd by Parliament. However, by renewing their *Bribes* and *Menaces of a Dissolution*, They carried their *other Point* likewise, and got the *whole Excise* settled on the King, before the Session ended.

Thus was *one Grievance* entail'd on us in the Room of *another*. Whether We gain'd any Thing by the Bargain, let the Publick determine; but I will venture to give my Opinion that if the *Excise upon Beer and Ale* should ever be made the Foundation of a *general Excise*, as *some Persons* too visibly design it, the Continuance of the *Court of Wards* would have been a more tolerable Evil; for *That* chiefly affected the richer Sort of People; but a *general Excise* will not only be a gnawing Canker on our *Land*s, but likewise such a Burthen on our *Manufatures* and *Navigation*, as must in Time destroy our *Trade*, and with it the *Riches*, *Power* and *Liberties* of the whole Nation.

The wise and honest Part of that Parliament were aware of This, and therefore oppos'd the *Excise*, as a Monster big with many fatal Evils; but the *servile* and *mercenary Herd* were too numerous, and carried all before Them.

The only remaining Comfort was, that *one Moiety* of this extraordinary Tax was to determine with the *King's Life*; and This was made an Argument against the *Exclusion-Bill* by the *Court Party*, who endeavour'd to extenuate the Dangers of a *Papish Successor* on that Account. They urg'd that the Determination of so large a Part of the Revenue, upon the King's Death, would render his Brother incapable of forcing his *Religion* upon us; and there would, no doubt, have been some Force in the Argument, had a *Moiety*
of

of the Excise actually determined, when it ceased by Law; but when King *James* succeeded to the Throne, the Parliament was in so good an Humour, (as Parliaments generally are at the Beginning of a Reign) that They not only gave Him the *whole Excise*, which his *Brother* enjoy'd, but likewise an additional Duty upon *Wine, Tobacco* and *other Commodities*. This, indeed, ceased for the present with the unfortunate Reign of *that Prince*, when our Laws and Liberties received a new Confirmation, and many Grievances were redress'd by the *Bill of Rights*; but the *whole Excise upon Beer and Ale* was continued to King *William*, and more than one Attempt was made, in his Reign, to extend it into a *general Excise*, under the old Pretence of *Necessity*, to carry on the War, which was then breaking out against *France*; but this Design was so vigorously opposed by many Persons, the most zealously affected to *Liberty* and the *Revolution*, that the *Projectors* were obliged to lay it aside. Amongst these honest Patriots were the late excellent Lord *Sommers*, Mr. *Hampden* and Mr. *Locke*; the two last of whom have left their Testimonies against it in Print. Mr. *Hampden's* Treatise upon this Subject has been of great Use to me already, and I shall have Occasion to take the same Liberty with Mr. *Locke* in some following Papers.

The several Vouchers and Authorities, with which I thought necessary to corroborate this Discourse on the *Origin of Excises*, hath already swell'd it to so great a Length, that I am obliged to conclude a little abruptly with a short Recapitulation of the whole.

It appears from the preceding Deduction that *this Kind of Taxing* was unknown to the Founders of our Government, and disagreeable, at least, to the fundamental Institutions of it; that it came originally from the *Eastern Part* of the World, where *absolute Monarchy* prevails, and was first introduced into *Europe* under the *Roman Emperors*, after the Commonwealth
was

was intirely destroy'd; that from *Italy* it was carried into *Spain*, and from thence found its Way into *France*, during the Confusions of the *League*; that the *first* Footing it got in *England* was likewise in the Time of a *civil War*; that the legal Establishment of it, after the *Restoration*, was procured by a Trick of the Court; that the farther Extension of it hath been constantly opposed by the Patrons of *Liberty*, even in Times of the *greatest Necessity*, and therefore it is hoped that in Times of Peace, when there can be no extraordinary Occasion for raising Money, We shall not be obliged to make Use of an Expedient, which is so repugnant to the Nature of a *free Government*, and the Interest of a *trading Nation*. D.



N^o 334. SATURDAY, *Novem. 25, 1732.*

The Nature of a GENERAL EXCISE consider'd, in View to the PRESENT SCHEME.



THE *Advocates for Excises* are sensible that the Word itself hath an odious Sound and a very disagreeable Idea annexed to it. This puts Them to the Trouble of some Prevarication, and obliges Them to disown the *Name*, whilst They are pleading for the *Thing*. It is pleasant enough to observe how They are forced to shuffle and mumble the Thistles, upon this Occasion. Sometimes They represent the *Scheme* itself as a *meer Fiction*, or *Chimera* of our own Brains, and yet dare not give it up in direct Terms. At other Times, They complain of *popular Prejudices*, and *imbibed Opinions*, which give Us an Advantage over Them in the Argument. Now,

Now, these very Complaints are tacit Confessions, at least, of *such a Design*, and sufficiently justify the Alarm it hath given Us; for why should They complain of *these Prejudices*, unless they stood in the Way of some Project in Agitation; or, indeed, from whence can they arise, but from the Experience of the People that *such Taxes* are grievous and burthensome to Them? For this Reason, the very Name of *Excises* puts Them out of Humour, and reduces Them to the Necessity of recurring to their old Expedient; for in order to avoid this *popular Odium*, They affect to dissemble the Knowledge of any *such Project*, tho' the whole Town rings with it, and a *certain Gentleman*, as I am inform'd, hath even publicly avowed it. They do not, indeed, pretend to deny that there may be a Design of *improving the publick Revenue, by making some Alterations in the Method of collecting it*; but if We should ask Them in what *these Alterations* are to consist, I believe They would be somewhat puzzled to give us any Answer to the Purpose; for I cannot apprehend how the Revenues can receive any *considerable Improvement*, without laying some *additional Burthen on the People*; and I must here beg Leave to repeat an Observation, which I made before, *that the Manner of collecting a Tax may prove more grievous to a free People than even the Tax itself*.

In order therefore to obviate all such ridiculous Evasions, I will tell Them very plainly what I mean by *Excises*; That is, *all Impositions on Home-Consumption, which are collected by particular Officers under the Crown, and subject to the LAWS OF EXCISE*.

It is absolutely indifferent to Us, whether *such Impositions* are call'd *Excise*, *Inland Duties*, or any other Name; for an *Inland Duty*, under the *Laws of Excise*, is the very same Thing to all Intents and Purposes with an *Excise*, except in the Sound of it.

I mention the Term, *Inland Duty*, because the *honourable Gentleman* was pleas'd to make Use of it Himself, about

about eight Years ago, when the *Customs on Tea, Coffee and Chocolate* were converted into an *Excise*; and it is very remarkable that in the *Act*, made for that Purpose, the Word *Excise* is very cautiously avoided, though the *Powers of Excise* are granted in as full and ample Manner as in any *Excise Law* whatsoever; *all the Powers, Penalties and Forfeitures, contained in the Act of the 12th of King Charles IIId, or ANY OTHER LAWS now in Force, relating to Ale and Beer, or other Liquors, being transfer'd to this Act.* The Judgments of the *Commissioners* are declared *final*, and not liable to be removed by *Certiorari* into the Courts of *Westminster*.

It is proper to acquaint the Reader that when *this Act* was made, it was propos'd to appoint *Commissioners* on Purpose for managing *these Duties*; but at present they are collected by the *Officers of Excise*; and will any Man pretend to say that an *Inland Duty*, under these Circumstances, is not properly an *Excise*, in the true and natural Sense of that Word?

As *that Act* will probably be made the Ground-Work of the *present Scheme*, if it should ever be carried into Execution, and the *worthy Gentleman*, who hath the Honour of being thought the *Projector* of it, is now made a Judge over the Properties of his Fellow-Subjects, I could wish that Mr. *Basket* would be pleas'd to print a new Edition of it, for the Use and Contemplation of his Countrymen at this Juncture.

I have been inform'd that an Attempt was made, in the last Reign, to extend the *Laws of Excise* to all Cases relating to the *Customs*; and if *that Scheme* had taken Place, We should have entertain'd just the same Opinion of it, though *those Duties* had still retain'd the Name of *Customs*; but the *Merchants* had so much Interest at that Time with the *Ministers*, that the *Project* was laid aside, upon their Representation. I hope the same Regard will be paid to Them at present, and that We shall never be in the Case of the *Romans*, upon the Declension

Declension of that Commonwealth; when, the Abbot *de Vertot* observes, that *it was Colour sufficient for rising the People and laying new Imposts, if They did but give those Exactions a new Name; * cujus modo Rei Nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas Pecunias.*

But if our *Projectors* should think it necessary to christen their Scheme by a *new Name*, in order to make it go down the more easily, let me advise Them to call it an *IN-LAND TAX*, which I think a more proper Name than an *Inland Duty*, and I wish it may not prove the heaviest Tax, that ever was laid upon the *Lands of England*.

I have said thus much to prevent all future Mistakes and Prevarication about the Meaning of the Word *Excises*; for what the *ministerial Writers* have hitherto produced, on this Subject, consists of nothing but little, low Attempts to confound *all Taxes* together, and to make the People believe that there is no real Difference between them. Let me therefore repeat it once more that when I speak of *Excises*, I mean only *those Duties*, which, being subject to the *Laws of Excise*, deprive my Countrymen of their antient Right to a *TRIAL BY JURIES*; and if the *Advocates for Excises* would be thought to write any Thing to the Purpose, let Them come directly to *this Point*.

But it will be objected, perhaps, by *these Gentlemen*, that supposing my Definition of *Excises* to be just, it does not follow that there is any Design of introducing a *GENERAL EXCISE*, or that *their Scheme hath any Tendency to it*. — I chuse to quote the very Words of *one of these Writers*, who seems to be the *Captain of the Band*, and was the first, who broach'd *this Scheme* without Doors, as his *Patron* had done just before within Doors. At present, indeed, He seems to decline

* *Cæsar de Bell. civ. lib. 3.*

the Lists, when the Dispute is most seasonable; but, perhaps, He may design to make his Appearance in a compleat Treatise on the Subject. If That should be his Intention, I must beg the Favour of Him to publish it within such a reasonable Time, that We may have an Opportunity to reply, if We see Occasion, before the *Parliament* meets. For this Reason, I began the Enquiry in Time, that the Subject might be fully discuss'd on both Sides, and I desire the Publick to take Notice that I now give Him a second fair Invitation.

I thought this Digression necessary to put my Readers on their Guard against *fool Prædic*, and shall now return to the Point in Hand.

I don't know what *the Gentlemen on the other Side* may understand by a *general Excise*; but I think a Nation may be properly said to be under such a Calamity, when the *Necessaries and Conveniences of Life are generally excised*; or, to speak more in their own Style, when *this Method of collecting the Revenue is become general*; That is, *common and usual in most Commodities*. Perhaps, *these Gentlemen* may mean an *universal Excise*, when They speak of a *general Excise*; and then, indeed, We can never be said to be in such a terrible Case, as long as there is one individual Species of Goods or Commodities, which We eat, drink, wear, or otherwise use for the Support, Conveniency and Pleasure of Life, which remains free from *this Kind of Taxation*; but as the Words themselves cannot be used in this Sense, with any Propriety of Language, so I believe there never was such an *universal Excise*, in any Nation, since the World begun, and I hope there never will, as long as it lasts.

I am sorry, indeed, to observe that the Practice of multiplying *these Duties* from Year to Year, which seems to be growing too fashionable amongst us, hath certainly a *Tendency*, at least, not only to a *general*, but even an *universal Excise*. Nay, I wish it could not be asserted
with

with Truth, that our *Taxes*, of one Kind or other, are already become almost *universal*; for if any of *these Writers* should be call'd upon to specify only *three or four common Necessaries of Life*, which are absolutely free from *all Kinds of Taxation whatsoever*, I believe They would take some Time to consider, before They could give an Answer; and I am not sure that it would be very satisfactory at last. I know very well that it hath been usual to instance *Flesh-meat* and *Bread-Corn*, upon these Occasions, as *Necessaries* exempted from the Burthen of *Taxes*; but even these Instances will not bear a strict Examination; for without insiling much on the *Lant-Tax*, which certainly inhances the Price of *Meat* and *Bread*, an additional Duty was last Year laid upon *both*, by the Revival of the Duties, or Excise upon *Salt*; for it is well known that great Quantities of *this Commodity* are made use of by the Bakers to season their *Bread*, as well as in curing *Fish*, *Breef*, *Pork* and other Provisions, upon which the poor Farmer, Labourer and Manufacturer almost wholly subsist.

Sorry I am that there should be any Occasion to lay open the Wounds of my Country in this Manner; but they require searching and probing to the Bottom, in order to be heal'd; and somebody must undertake the *Surgeon's Work*, disagreeable as it is, though Mr. *Osborne* thinks fit to decline it.

Let us now consider, as We are naturally led by this Enquiry, how many of these various Taxes are already converted into *Excises*, or collected by *Methods and Laws of the same Kind*. I have Room only, in this Place, to give the Reader a bare Catalogue of them, without any particular Comment.

Beer and *Ale*, *Mum*, *Cyder*, *Perry* and *sweet Wines*; *Malt*, *Brandy*, and *all distill'd Spirits*; *Leather*, *Soap*, *Candles*, *Hops*; *Paper*, *Paste-Boards*, *Mill-Boards*, &c. *Silks* and *Callicoes*; *Starch*, *Hides*, *Wire*, and *wrought Plate*; *Coffee*, *Tea* and *Chocolate*; *Salt*, &c.

These are what occur to Me at present; but, I may venture to assert that almost all the Duties and Impositions on *Home-Commodities*, except the *Land-Tax*, are levy'd in *this Manner*, and in some Measure subject to the *same Laws*; so that the *Duties on Importation*, or what We call *Customs*, are now the only Taxes, which the Subject continues to pay in the *ancient Manner*, and under the *ordinary Forms of Law*. Nay, We see that *some Branches of the Customs* are already converted into *Excises*, as *Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Brandy, Rum, Arrack, &c.* and a Scheme is now set on Foot, and openly defended, for making the same Alterations in several others. Yet still the *Projectors* cry that They have no Thoughts of a *general Excise*, and that *their Scheme* hath no *Tendency* to it; which is just as reasonable, as if a Man should go from *London* to *Canterbury*, by easy Journies, and when He is got there, undertake to prove that *He is not in the Way to Dover*.

We do not say that the *Projectors* design to *excise every Thing* this Year; but We apprehend and insist upon it that their Method of Proceeding hath a manifest *Tendency* to it. They carry it on gradually, and bring only *some Commodities* under this severe Yoke at a Time, well-knowing that They can more easily stop the Clamour of *two or three Bodies of Traders*, than the *whole Nation*; but such is the exorbitant Lust of Power in *some Men*, that They discover a manifest Uneasiness till They have extended their Scheme to every Part of Trade, and made it *general*. *Tryals per Pais* are troublesome Things, and *Juries* will not always find for the *Crown*, but judge of Facts according to Evidence confronted, and give their Verdict accordingly. *These Gentlemen* therefore seem to have a very itching Desire after a Power of deciding Matters, in a more easy and summary Way, by *Judges*, who are at the same Time *Prosecutors*, and being immediately dependent on the *Crown*, are more likely to determine Causes in Favour of it. I have even heard it openly avow'd

avow'd as an Argument for *this Method of Prosecution*; that the *Crown* is commonly cast in the Court of *Exchequer*; but surely This will never be allow'd a sufficient Reason for depriving *Englishmen* of their antient Rights and Privileges, which They have purchased at so dear a Price.

It hath been farther urged, in Favour of *this Scheme*, that it is not propos'd to give the *Officers* a Power of entering *private Houses*, and therefore it cannot be call'd a *general Excise*. — Let us therefore see whether there is any more Weight in this Argument than in the former.

In the first Place, it is necessary to observe that the *Merchants, Shop-keepers, Inn-holders, Victuallers, Distillers and other Retailers of imported Commodities* are so very numerous a Body of Men, and pay so large a Part of the *publick Expences*, not only as *Dealers*, but even as *private Men*, that I think some Regard ought to be had to Them as well as their Fellow-Subjects, and that no Hardships, or Severities, should be put upon Them, which publick Necessity does not absolutely require.

But do the *Laws of Excise* really affect *Traders only*? I am afraid it will be found, upon Enquiry, that *these Laws* have already gain'd some Admittance into *private Houses*; or, at least, laid very great Restraints upon them.

I did not insert the *Window-Tax* amongst my List of *exciseable Duties*, because it is collected by *Parish Officers*, and paid in to the *Receivers of the Land-Tax*; but in one Respect it partakes, at least, of the Nature of an *Excise*, by subjecting every Man's House to the Inspection of *certain Officers*, appointed by the *Crown*; which was formerly complain'd of as so great a Grievance, in the Case of the *Hearth-money*, that it induced King *William* to recommend the Abolition of it to his Parliament, soon after the *Revolution*; and in the Preamble to the Act for taking away *that Duty*, it is said

to be not only a great Oppression to the poorer Sort, but a BADGE OF SLAVERY upon the whole People, exposing every Man's House to be enter'd into and search'd, at Pleasure, by PERSONS UNKNOWN TO HIM.

By an Act of the 6th of the late King (*for excising Malt, Brandy and other Liquors*) it is provided, *inter Alia, that no Brandy, &c. shall be sold, without a Certificate from the Officers, that the Duty hath been paid, or that it is condemn'd, or Part of some other Person's Stock; and that no Brandy, &c. exceeding a Gallon, shall be removed without a Permit, certifying the Quantity and Quality, on Penalty to forfeit the said Brandy, &c. and Cask.*—The Consequence of This is, that no Person can send home any Quantity of these Liquors, after He hath bought them, without a *Certificate*; and if He changes his Place of Abode, or hath a Mind to make a Present of any Quantity, above a Gallon, He cannot do it without a *Permit*, which will not be granted Him neither, unless He *enters his House*.—This I can aver, upon my own Knowledge.

By another Clause in the *same Act* it is declared, *that every Person, having above 63 Gallons of any Sort of Brandy, Arrack, strong Waters, &c. shall be deem'd a Seller of Brandy, &c.*—By this Clause, you see, the greatest Peer in *England* is restrain'd from keeping above 63 Gallons of *these Liquors* in his House at a Time, without *entering it*, and making it liable to the Inspection of *Officers*, if They should think fit. Now, if We consider that many Gentlemen are obliged to live in an hospitable Manner, in order to support their Interest, especially in the Country, I believe 63 Gallons of any of *these Liquors* will be thought but a moderate Allowance. Besides, it is well known that *such Liquors* improve by Age, and grow more valuable the longer they are kept.

By an Act of the 10th of the same King (being the famous Act before-mention'd) *no Chocolate is allow'd to be made in private Houses, without giving a very particular*

cular and distinct Notice in Writing, three Days before, to the next Office. The Officer, indeed, is not to visit such Houses; but it is necessary to have a Permission under his Hand; and if within three Days after finishing such Chocolate for private Use, an Entry upon Oath is not made to the proper Officer within the District, where the said Chocolate was made, of the Quantity made by Virtue of the Permit, and if all the Chocolate so made shall not be brought, ready wrapt up in Paper, to be stamp'd, the said Chocolate shall be forfeited and treble the Value.

Neither is any Person permitted to work, or make into Chocolate, for their private Use, less than half an hundred of Cocoa Nuts at each Time.

I will now leave the World to judge whether *Excises* have not already got some Footing in *private Houses*; and We ought to remember that *when the Serpent gets his Head into a Hole* (as Mr. Hampden very justly observes) *it will be no hard Matter for Him to draw his whole Body after it.* Experience teaches us that *Excises* are Things of an incroaching Nature, and the same Reasons, which were at first advanced to bring them into *publick Houses*, may be afterwards made Use of to draw them into *private Families*; especially if it should be found impracticable to execute the *Scheme* without it. But of This, perhaps, I may have Occasion to speak in another Place, and at present will conclude with a short Address to the mercantile Part of my Readers.

“ You see, *Gentlemen*, what is the Nature of *Excises*, in Distinction from *other Taxes*, and how they “ naturally tend to a *general Excise*. I believe you “ will think This a critical Time to make a Stand, “ and endeavour to put a Stop to the Growth of “ them; for I must tell you very plainly that the “ *next Step*, in my Opinion, will be decisive. It is “ therefore hoped and expected from you, as your “ Interest is primarily concern'd, that you will lay “ aside

“ aside all Party-Distinctions and exert your Endeavours, as one Man, to prevent the Execution of *this Project* by all such prudent and dutiful Methods, as your several Stations and the Laws of your Country have provided for you. D.



N^o 335. SATURDAY, Dec. 2, 1732.

The Letter-writer's Objections to Duties on Importation consider'd; with some farther Remarks on Excises.



H A V E already acknowledged, and am willing to do it again upon all Occasions, that those Taxes, which publick Necessity hath laid on the Importation of Commodities, have been a very grievous Burthen on the British Commerce; and I will add, if you please, that such high Duties on the Produce of our own Colonies, in particular, seem more grievous, as well as impolitick, for several Reasons, which it would be fruitless to offer in this Place; but since publick Necessity obliges us to submit to them for the present, We hope at least that they will not be made still more grievous to us by any extraordinary Methods of Collection.

The Publick hath already seen my Reasons against Excises, with Regard to the Trade, Liberties and Constitution of this Kingdom. Let us now consider the Letter-writer's Arguments against Duties on Importation, as they are stated at large in my introductory Paper on this Subject; and as I will not endeavour to conceal the Force of any of them, so if they are found weightier in the Scale, I am ready to give up the Cause and consent to the Alteration proposed.

He

He tells us, *that all Home-Consumption ought to be tax'd*; I suppose He means all Home-Consumption of *foreign Commodities*, though his Expression is general and includes our *domestick Produce*, as well as *Goods imported from abroad*; but as This seems to be only an Inaccuracy of Language, I shall take no farther Notice of it, unless He should think fit to declare Himself expressly an Advocate for *taxing all Home-Consumption*.

The Produce of our Colonies brought hither bath a vast Disadvantage, says He, *in paying Duty upon being landed, and receiving Drawbacks on being exported*; and *that all Goods imported are more or less subject to this Grievance*. — This is certainly very true, as I observed before, and I wish all imported Goods did really draw back the *whole Duty* upon Exportation, which seems highly reasonable and would, no doubt, be of great Advantage to the Trade of the Kingdom; but I am at a Loss to guess how *this Disadvantage* would be removed by turning the *Customs* into *Excises*, if We are to suppose that *Drawbacks* will be continued under this *new Method*; and if no *Drawbacks* are to be allow'd on any Goods exported, after they have paid the *Excise*, I leave the Publick to judge whether our *Exportations*, the most valuable Part of our Trade, will not be vastly encouraged and improved by it.

We are told *that all Duties, paid the Government on Importation, cost the Government ten per Cent. for prompt Payment*. — To which I reply; *first*, that *these Præmiums* were allow'd by Parliament to the Importer, Merchant, or Factor, in Consideration of the Interest of their Money so advanced; *secondly*, that *these Præmiums* are not peculiar to the *Customs*, but allow'd, in some Proportion, on several *Excise Duties*; particularly Those of *Salt*; for in the very Pamphlet, where these Objections are advanced, a Sum of *twenty thousand Pounds per Ann.* is deducted from the *gross Charge*, as it is there call'd, on Account of *prompt Payment*; and therefore I cannot see any Reason why *this Objection* should

should be particularly urged against *Duties on Importation*; but *thirdly*, if this Allowance, on *prompt Payment*, should be thought too large, for the Encouragement of the Trade of the Kingdom, it is in the Power of Parliament to reduce it, or even to take it away intirely, if They should think convenient, without having Recourse to so desperate a Remedy as an *Excise*, which is infinitely worse than the Disease it self, even according to the *Letter-writer's* own Representation.

It is farther alledged, *that in many Cases, if the Commodity be enter'd for Re-exportation, within a certain Time. the Factor claims a Drawback of the intire Duty; by which the Nation, as the Customs now stand, actually loses ten per Cent. on divers Branches of our Commerce.* — As the *Gentleman* hath not thought fit to specify those Branches of Trade, on which the Nation loses *this Premium*, it cannot be expected that I should give Him a particular Answer. At present therefore I shall reply only, in general, that the Charge is false; for all Allowances upon *Importation* are dedusted in the Debenture upon *Exportation*; but if the *Letter-writer* will please to particularize any Branch of Trade, in which *the Nation actually loses ten per Cent. by Premiums and Drawbacks*, I promise either to give Him a particular Answer, or to acknowledge that it ought to be remedied, though not by an *Excise*.

Another Objection against *Duties on Importation* is founded on the *Charges of Commission, &c. which the Planters and Merchants of our Colonies are obliged to allow their Factors here for the Transaction of their Business at the Custom-house.* — To This I answer, that *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*; and, for my Part, I can see no Reason why the *Merchants* should transact Business at the *Custom-house*, and sell the *Planter's* Goods, without being paid for their Trouble; for as those Persons, with whom our Merchants deal abroad, take *Commissions* from Them, so I think it reasonable and equitable that They should take *Commissions* from others.

We

We are likewise told, by the same Author, *that numberless Frauds are committed, and that the clandestine Running of Goods is greatly encouraged by this Method of paying Duties on Importation, and allowing Drawbacks on exporting them again.* — This deserves a particular and distinct Answer.

In the first Place, I am ready to allow that these Complaints of *Frauds* and *Smuggling* are too just ; but I cannot agree with the *Letter-writer* concerning either the Cause, or Cure of these Evils ; which are not so much owing to the Payment of Duties on *Importation*, and the Allowance of Drawbacks on *Exportation*, as to the Height of the Duties themselves on all such foreign Commodities as are wanted for Consumption in this Kingdom ; for till the Multiplicity of Impositions and additional Duties were laid on those Commodities, the Practice of *running Goods* was of no great Consequence, as will appear by comparing the Seizures made in former Times with those of late Years. If therefore the *same Duties* are to be continued, or *greater Duties* should be laid on the Commodities consumed in this Kingdom, an *Alteration in the Method of collecting them* will not prevent the *clandestine Running of Goods* ; which can be effected only by the Reduction of the Duties to such a Degree, that it will not be the Interest of any Persons to engage in a Traffick so hazardous to Themselves, as well as prejudicial to the fair Trader.

It is pretended, I know, that the extraordinary Powers of *Excise Laws* are become necessary for the Prevention of Frauds in the Collection of Duties imposed by Parliament ; but whoever will give Himself the Trouble of looking into the penal Laws, relating to the *Customs*, will find as severe Penalties annex'd to them as were ever known amongst a free People ; and because some Gentlemen may be misled for Want of knowing what Powers the *Commissioners of the Customs* are invested with, the following will serve as a small Sketch of them.

The Penalties upon Merchants, Masters of Ships and others, concern'd in Trade, besides their being subjected to a strict Examination upon Oath, and Forfeiture of the Goods; in some Cases, double the Value; Loss of the Ship, or Vessel, with all her Tackle; Fines of 100 l. or 500 l. Imprisonment; Incapacity to sue for any Debt; and the Proof generally thrown upon the Owner, or Importer.

On the other Hand, the Powers given to the Custom-House Officers are very large. All the Subjects of the Kingdom are enjoy'd by Act of Parliament to assist Them. They may break open Houses, Shops, Trunks, &c. to search for prohibited, or run Goods, by a proper Warrant, and in a proper Manner. They may enter on Board any Ship, or Vessel, and break open any Cabin, Trunk, or small Package; so that if the King is still defrauded of his Duties, it must proceed from the Corruption, or Negligence of the Persons employ'd, and not from Want of sufficient Penalties upon the Offenders, or sufficient Power in the Custom House Officers.

Besides, We have found by Experience that *Excise Laws* do not prevent *Smuggling*; for I believe *foreign Commodities* were never more run than at present; neither is it in the Power of the *Commissioners of Excise* to put a Stop to it. Their *Officers* do not guard the Coasts, to hinder the running of Goods into the Country. Their Province lies more in tormenting the fair Trader; in disquieting Him in the Possession of his Property, and in the peaceable Pursuit of his lawful Calling. Nay, how can it be expected that *Excise Officers* should prove more honest in the Execution of their Trust than *Custom-house Officers*? There is a greater Scope for Knavery in the former than in the latter; and I make no Doubt that They know as well how to make the most of their Places.

But we are farther told by the *Letter-writer*, that *the People might be considerably eased as well at home, as in our Colonies abroad, by this Alteration*; which is so far from being true, that I apprehend another bad Effect of
Excises

Excises to be, that they will certainly bring a farther Burthen on the People, equal to a *Tax* ; for the *Excise* will not ease the Merchant of any Burthen He now labours under in carrying on this Trade, such as *Officers Fees, Servants Wages, &c.* but He will be put to greater Expences by frequent Examinations of his Stock. To This We must likewise add his own greater Trouble and Fatigue, Loss of Time and Interruption of Business, for which He will have a Consideration in the Value of his Goods ; and This must be paid by the *Consumer*, where every expensive Load on Trade will center at last.

How therefore can it be said, with any Colour of Truth, that the People will be eased by *this Method of Taxation*, which not only takes from Them one of their most essential Rights as *Englishmen*, but will undoubtedly inhanse the Price of all Commodities, which are necessary and convenient for Life ?

Almost the same Answer may be given to that Part of the Argument, which relates to the *Improvement of the Revenue* ; for I think it demonstrable that it will rather lessen than increase it, many of our imported Commodities being for *Luxury*, and therefore the dearer they come, the less will be consumed, and so far as the *Consumption* is lessen'd, the *Revenues* must diminish. If That, indeed, were the only Evil, the Nation might be a Gainer in the main ; but our Debts and Expences have reduced us to such an unhappy Dilemma, that We are obliged to encourage *Luxury*, in order to support the *Revenue*. If therefore the *Advocates for Excises* will please to explain the Particulars of their Scheme, I believe it will be found impracticable, and that it will not answer the End proposed by it, if the *Improvement of the Revenue*, by just and honest Means, be what They really intend.

The *Letter-writer* goes on, in the following, extraordinary Manner. — *None will be affected by this Alteration but those little, mercenary Factors, who from the*

Lust of Lucre would have these Customs continued, against the Interest of Trade, against the Ease of the People, merely that They may have the private Advantage of Premiums on prompt Payment, and Commissions for transacting Business at the Custom-house. But This I am persuaded, says He, will have so little Weight with the People of England, against their general Advantage, that I rather believe They will despise the Clamours and reject the Persons of Those, who oppose a common Good from any such sordid Motives.

These are very hard Imputations; and I believe it is the first Time that any Writer hath taken the Liberty to treat the whole Body of *British Merchants* (who are, most of Them, *Factors for others*, as well as *Traders on their own Account*) in such an unhandſome Manner, without any other Reason than because They may not approve of a *Scheme*, which will not only be highly prejudicial to the general Interest of *Trade*, in which their own particular Interests are involved, but, by the necessary Increase of *Officers*, greatly endanger the Liberties of the Nation.

If I am not very much mistaken, the *Letter-writer* is paid for this notable Production, as well as his *Patron* for employing his Time so gloriously in the publick Service; and if We should call one a *mercenary Writer*, or the other a *mercenary Minister*, We know by Experience how loudly They would complain of such Appellations; but, perhaps, the Nature of *this Scheme* makes it necessary to abuse the *Merchants*, as a *Pack of sordid Wretches*, who deserve no Regard, and ought to be cut off from the common Privileges of *Englishmen*.

I am unacquainted what Part *these Gentlemen* may think fit to act, if any *such Project* should ever be brought into Parliament; but if They should judge it their Interest, or Duty, to appear in Opposition to it, I am apt to believe that their *Clamours*, as the *Letter-writer* terms them, will not be *despised*, nor their *Persons* *rejected*.

rejected, on such an Occasion ; especially by the best, and richest of our Representatives.

I am, indeed, at a Loss to guess why the *Merchants* should be treated in such an outrageous Manner. They were not the Proposers, or Promoters of putting the Produce of our *Colonies*, or the Commodities of *foreign Countries*, under such Disadvantages, by paying Duties on being *landed*, and receiving Drawbacks on being *exported*. I dare answer for Them, that They would be glad to have great Part of the Duties on all Commodities, not prohibited, taken off, or lower'd, however They may be treated as *Mercenaries*, who trade only from a *Lust of Lucre* ; and that They are of Opinion, that taking such a Step would bring a much greater Advantage to the Nation, as well as a greater Revenue to the Crown ; than any *Alteration in the Manner of collecting the Duties* ; for a *Reduction of the Duties* will certainly occasion a greater Exportation of our Product and Manufactures, and a greater Importation of foreign Commodities ; whereas the Conversion of *Customs* into *Excises* will as certainly be attended with a Decrease of Importation, as well as Exportation.

Thus have I gone through the *Letter-writer's* Objections to *Duties on Importation* ; and I cannot forbear observing upon the whole, that the *Projectors* and their *Advocates* seem of late to have taken a violent Affection for the *Planters of our Colonies*, after long Neglect, Discouragement and ill Usage ; but it is too visible that this Concern is a meer Pretence and affected only to serve a present Purpose, as They made the *landed Interest* a Stalking-Horse to their Designs last Year. I hope therefore that none of *our Countrymen abroad* will suffer Themselves to be imposed upon so far, as to think that *any Scheme* can be for their Advantage, which is so contrary to the Interests and Inclinations of their *Fellow-Subjects at home*. For my Part, I have constantly espoused their Cause in the most zealous Manner against all their *domestick*, as well as *foreign Enemies*, without

taking Part in any particular Disputes amongst Themselves; but if the Controversy should ever lye between the real, or pretended Interest of any *particular Colony*, and the general Interest of *Great Britain*, I must beg Leave to side with the *latter*; for it would certainly be much better that *such a Colony* were sunk to the Bottom of the Sea, than that it should ever be made the Instrument of enslaving its *Mother-Country*. C. D.



N^o 336. SATURDAY, Dec. 9, 1732.

The Case of EXCISES consider'd, with Regard to the Practice of Holland, and in View to a Land-Tax.



Have now distinctly consider'd all the *Letter-writer's* Arguments for *Excises*, as well as his Objections against *Duties on Importation*, excepting only two; which are so link'd together in his Discourse, that I chose to reserve them for a particular Essay.

He tells us, *that our Liberties can be in no Danger from such Excises; but may be as safe in this Kingdom, as in the Republick of Holland, under the same Regulations*; and the Drift of his whole Pamphlet is to prove that *Excises*, in general, are preferable to a *Land-Tax*; for which He likewise produces the Example and Authority of *Holland*.

In Answer to This, it is necessary to observe, in the first Place, that though *Holland* may be justly call'd a *free State*, when compared with the *absolute Governments* round about it, yet I cannot agree that it ought to be compared with the Constitution of *Great Britain*, as long as We are able to preserve it pure and uncorrupt in all its Parts.

Sir

Sir *William Temple* (whose Authority hath been often quoted on both Sides, as an excellent Writer) observes very justly, *that this stomachful People, who could not endure the least Exercise of arbitrary Power; or Impositions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops, under the Spanish Government, have been since inured to all of them, in the highest Degree, under their own popular Magistrates; bridled with hard Laws, terrify'd with severe Executions, environ'd with foreign Forces, and oppress'd with the most cruel Hardships and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government.*

It is therefore a very extraordinary Proposal, to reduce us to the same hard Condition with our Neighbours in *Holland*, and sufficiently denotes the Modesty of the *Projectors*; but I believe They will find it as difficult to establish the same Regulations here, as to make the People of *Great Britain* in Love with the Government of *Holland*, or to throw off all Regard for the happy Constitution of their own Country.

In the next Place, it is proper to enquire into the Reasons, which make the People of *Holland* submit to these Severities of Government. Now these arise, as the same Author informs us, from the Simplicity and Modesty of their Magistrates, in their Way of Living; which do not exceed the Customs of the common Merchants and Burghers of the *Town*.—He tells us likewise, *that the Way to Office and Authority lies through these Qualities, which acquire the general Esteem of the People; that no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of the Laws; that Soldiers are confined to Frontier Garrisons; (the Guard of Inland, or Trading Towns, being left to the Burghers themselves;) and that no great Riches are seen to enter by publick Payments into private Purses, either to raise Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant and luxurious Men; but all publick Monies are apply'd to the Safety, Greatness, or Honour of the State; and the*

Magistrates *themselves* bear an equal Share in all the Burthens *They* impose.

Whenever therefore our *great Men* will be pleased to adopt the parsimonious Maxims of their Brethren in *Holland*, and reduce Themselves to some Degree of Equality with their Fellow-Subjects, it may be an Encouragement for us to submit to the *same Regulations*; but whilst We see Them rolling in Wealth, Luxury and Grandeur, it is the most provoking Insult to be told, that We ought to be *bridled* like the People of *Holland*.

Besides, I have been inform'd that the *Dutch Excises* differ very materially, in some Particulars, from Those already establish'd in *England*; for in several *imported Commodities*, (such as *Wine, Tea, Coffee, &c.*) every Man is tax'd at so much a Year, according to his *Family and Manner of Living*, by the Magistrates of the Town, in which He lives, unless He makes Oath that He uses none; but no *Officers* are allow'd to enter his House, which is look'd upon as his *Sanctuary*; and consequently They have no Power, or Influence, in the *Election of Magistrates*. — I am far from mentioning This with any Design of recommending the same Method of Taxation in *England*; and am ready to give my Reasons against it, whenever such a Scheme shall be brought on the Carpet.

The *Letter-writer's* Argument against *Land-Taxes*, taken from the Example of *Holland*, is still more fallacious; for the Circumstances of the two Nations are so vastly different, that no just Conclusions can be drawn from *one* to the *other*. *Great Britain* hath a *Product within itself*, not only sufficient to maintain its own People, but to spare for other Countries; whereas the *Product of Holland* will not maintain, as Mr. *de Witt* allows, one eighth Part of its Inhabitants. *Great Britain* hath, besides its *Product, Manufactures* of various Kinds, *Fisheries* and *Mines of Lead, Tin, Copper* and *Coals*,

Coals, not only for its own Use, but exports them in great Quantities to foreign Countries; whereas the *Dutch Manufactures* are neither so many, nor so great. They have no *Mines*, and as They are obliged to purchase the greatest Part of the *common Necessaries of Life* from their Neighbours, so the Income, which maintains the Government, as well as enriches the People, arises from their *Trade, Fishery, and Freight of Ships*.

Nothing therefore can be more ridiculous than to argue for *Excises* here from the Practice of *Holland*; where the vast Disproportion of *Land* to the Number of the *Inhabitants* makes them absolutely necessary for the Support of the Government.

I might, in this Place, complain of *popular Prejudices* with more Justice and Propriety than the Gentlemen on the *other Side of the Question*; for the grievous Burthen, which the Freeholders of *Great Britain* have been obliged to bear for above forty Years past, hath certainly prepossess'd Them as strongly against a *Land-Tax* as the common People can be supposed to be against *Excises*; but with Pleasure I observe that there is no Occasion to make any such Apologies, or Complaints; since whatever Opinions some of the *Land-Owners* might formerly entertain on this Subject, They seem to be fully convinced of their Mistake; for I do not meet with any Body, except the *Projectors* and their *Advocates*, who discover any Inclination to *this Scheme*, however it may be gilded over with the plausible Pretence of relieving Them from the *Land-Tax*. They now see the *Hook* through the *Bait*, and are too wise to bite at it any longer.

I shall endeavour to confirm Them in this wise Disposition and right Way of judging, for their own Interest, by the excellent Reasonings of *Mr. Locke* on the same Subject.

In speaking of the Causes, which raise, or depreciate the Value of *Land*, He makes the following Observations.

“ When

“ When a Nation, is running to Decay and
 “ Ruin, the *Merchant* and *money'd Man*, do what
 “ you can, will be sure to starve last. Observe it
 “ where you will, the Decays, that come upon and
 “ bring to Ruin any Country, do constantly first fall
 “ on LAND; and though the *Country Gentleman* be
 “ not very forward to think so, yet This nevertheless
 “ is an undoubted Truth, that He is more concern'd in
 “ *Trade*, and ought to take a greater Care that it be
 “ well managed and preserv'd than even the MERCHANT
 “ himself; for He will certainly find, when a
 “ Decay of *Trade* hath carry'd away one Part of our
 “ Money out of the Kingdom, and the other is kept in
 “ the *Merchant's* and *Tradesman's* Hands, that no *Laws*
 “ He can make, nor any little *Arts of shifting Property*
 “ amongst ourselves, will bring it back to Him again;
 “ but his *Rents* will fall and his *Income* every Day less-
 “ sen, till general *Industry* and *Frugality*, join'd to a
 “ well-order'd *Trade*, shall restore to the Kingdom the
 “ Riches and Wealth it had formerly.

“ This by the Way, if well consider'd, might let us
 “ see that *Taxes*, however contriv'd, and out of whose
 “ Hands soever immediately taken, do in a Country,
 “ where their great Fund is in *Land*, for the most Part
 “ terminate upon *Land*. Whatsoever the *People* is
 “ chiefly maintain'd by, That the *Government* supports
 “ itself on. Nay, perhaps it will be found that those
 “ *Taxes*, which seem least to affect *Land*, will most
 “ surely of all others fall the *Rents*. This would de-
 “ serve to be well consider'd, in the raising of *Taxes*,
 “ lest the Neglect of it bring upon the *Country Gentle-*
 “ *man* an Evil, which He will be sure quickly to feel,
 “ but not be able very quickly to remedy; for *Rents*,
 “ once fallen, are not easily rais'd again. A Tax laid
 “ upon *Land* seems hard to the *Land-holder*, because
 “ it is so much Money going visibly out of his Pocket;
 “ and therefore, as an Ease to Himself, the *Land-holder*
 “ is always forward to lay it upon *Commodities*; but if
 “ He

“ He will thoroughly consider it and examine the Effects, He will find He buys this seeming Ease at a very dear Rate; and though He pays not *this Tax* immediately out of his own Purse, yet his Purse will find it by a greater Want of Money there at the End of the Year than That comes to, with the *lessening of his Rents* to boot; which is a *settled and lasting Evil*, that will stick upon Him beyond the *present Payment*.

He then puts a Case, adapted to the Circumstances of the Times, in which He wrote; but it will equally serve to illustrate the present Argument.

“ But suppose, *says He*, to shift off the Burthen from the *Land*, some *Country Gentlemen* should think fit to raise these *three Millions* (a Sum supposed to be wanted at that Time) upon *Commodities*, to let the *Land* go free. First, it is to be consider'd, that since the publick Wants require *three Millions*, and so much must go into the *King's Coffers*, or else the Necessities of the Government will not be supply'd, that for raising these *three Millions* on *Commodities*, and bringing so much into the *Exchequer*, there must go a great deal more than *three Millions* out of the *Subjects Pockets*; for a *Tax of that Nature* cannot be levy'd by *Officers*, to watch every little Rivulet of Trade, without a *great Charge*, especially at first Tryal. But supposing no more Charge in raising it than of a *Land-Tax*, and that there are only *three Millions* to be paid; it is evident that to do This out of *Commodities*, they must to the *Consumer* be raised a *Quarter in their Price*; so that every Thing to Him, that uses it, must be a *Quarter dearer*. Let us see now *who* at long Run must pay *this Quarter*, and where it will light. 'Tis plain the *Merchant* and *Broker* neither will nor can; for if He pays a *Quarter more* for *Commodities* than He did, He will sell them at a *Price proportionably raised*. The *poor Labourer* and *Handcraftsman* cannot; for He just
“ lives

“ lives from Hand to Mouth already ; and all his Food,
 “ Cloathing and Utensils costing a *Quarter* more than
 “ they did before ; either his *Wages* must rise with
 “ the *Price of Things*, to make Him live ; or else, not
 “ being able to maintain Himself and Family by his
 “ Labour, He comes to the *Parish* ; and then the *Land*
 “ bears the Burthen an heavier Way. If the *Labourer's*
 “ *Wages* be raised, in Proportion to the increased
 “ *Rates of Things*, the *Farmer*, who pays a *Quarter*
 “ *more for Wages*, as well as *all other Things*, whilst
 “ He sells his Corn and Wooll either at the same Rate,
 “ or lower, at the Market, (since the *Tax* laid upon
 “ it makes People less forward to buy) must either
 “ have his *Rent abated*, or else break and run away in
 “ his *Landlord's Debt* ; and so the yearly Value of the
 “ *Land* is brought down ; and who then pays the *Tax* ;
 “ at the Year's End, but the *Landlord* ?

A little farther He tells us, that “ *HOLLAND* is
 “ brought as an Instance for laying the Charge of the
 “ Publick upon *Trade* ; and it is possible (excepting
 “ some few *small free Towns*) the only Place in the
 “ World, that could be brought to favour this Way ;
 “ but yet, when examined, will be found to shew the
 “ quite contrary, and be a clear Proof that, lay the
 “ *Taxes* where you will, *Land* every where, in Pro-
 “ portion, bears the greater Share of the Burthen. The
 “ publick Charge of the Government, it is said, is,
 “ in the *united Provinces*, laid on *Trade*. I grant it is,
 “ the greatest Part of it ; but is the *Land* excused, or
 “ eased by it ? By no means ; but, on the contrary, so
 “ loaded, that in many Places *Half*, in others a *Quarter*,
 “ in others *one Eighth of the yearly Value* does not
 “ come into the *Owner's Pocket* ; and, if I have not
 “ been misinform'd, the *Land*, in some Places, will not
 “ pay the *Taxes* ; so that We may say, that the Charge
 “ of the Government came not upon *Commodities*, till
 “ the *Land* could not bear it. The Burthen unavoid-
 “ ably settles upon the *Land* first, and when it hath
 “ press'd

" pref'd it so, that it can yield no more, *Trade* must
 " be brought in Aid, to help to support the Govern-
 " ment, rather than let All sink; but the first Stress is
 " always upon *Land*; and as far as That will reach, it
 " is unavoidably carry'd, lay your *Taxes* how you
 " will. It is known what a Share of the publick
 " Charges of the Government is supported by the
 " Trade of *Amsterdam* alone. As I remember *that one*
 " *Town* pays Thirty-six in the Hundred of all the pub-
 " lick Taxes raised in the *united Provinces*; but are
 " the Lands of *Guelderland* eased by it? Let any one
 " see in that Country of *Land*, more than *Trade*, what
 " They make clear of their Revenues, and whether the
 " *Country Gentlemen* there grow rich on their *Land*,
 " whilst the *Merchant*, having the Taxes laid on his
 " *Commerce*, is impoverish'd. On the contrary, *Guelderland*
 " is so low and out of Cash, that *Amsterdam*
 " hath been sin, for many Years, to lay down the
 " *Taxes* for Them; which is, in Effect, to pay the
 " Taxes of *Guelderland* too.

" Struggle and contrive as you will; lay your *Taxes*
 " as you please; the *Traders* will shift it off from their
 " *own Gain*; the *Merchants* will bear the least Part of
 " it, and grow poor last. In *Holland* itself, where
 " *Trade* is so loaded, who, I pray, grows richest; the
 " *Land-holder*, or the *Trader*? Which of Them is
 " pinch'd and wants Money most? — A *Country*
 " may thrive, the *Country Gentleman* grow rich, and
 " his *Rents* increase, (for it hath been so *here*) whilst the
 " *Land* is tax'd; but I challenge any one to shew me
 " a *Country*, wherein there is any considerable Charge
 " raised, where the *Land* does not most sensibly feel it,
 " and in Proportion bear much the greater Part of it.

I believe the Reader will not look upon these Quota-
 tions as tedious, or unnecessary, though they have
 swell'd my Paper to such an unusual Length. For
 my Part, they seem so very apposite to the Purpose,
 so clear, full, and even demonstrative, that if the grie-
 vous

vous Load of a *long-continued Land-Tax* should have still left some Prejudices in the Minds of the *British Freeholders*, a due Attention to the Scope and Force of *these Arguments* must, I think, root them up and intirely dissipate them away.

These Gentlemen would likewise do well to consider that although They have long groan'd under the Pressure of a *Land-Tax*, yet it hath been continued only from Year to Year, for the current Expences of the Government; and as there is a great Number of the most considerable *Land-holders* in both Houses of Parliament, it may be reasonably supposed that They will lay hold of the first Opportunity to ease Themselves from this Burthen. Whereas We are taught by Experience that *Excises* commonly become *perpetual*, even almost without Exception, when they are once laid; and as *this Scheme* is design'd only to supply the Necessities of the Government, in Time of *Peace*, so the *Projectors* will, I fear, have Recourse to a *Land-Tax*, upon the first extraordinary Occasion either at home or abroad, without giving up a Shilling of the *Excise*; and then I think the Freeholders of *Great Britain* cannot be in a worse Condition, unless the *Projectors* should think fit, in their great Wisdom, to collect the *Land-Tax* also by the *Laws of Excise*.

It will be said, perhaps, that the Parliament hath it in their Power to reduce the *Excise*, whenever it grows exorbitant, or burthensome; but This I deny, if it should be made *perpetual*; for, in such a Case, They cannot do it without the Consent of the *Crown*; and I think it somewhat improbable that the *Court* will ever part with such a Jewel, as long as They can keep it.

Besides, all Attempts to diminish any *Revenue*, when once granted, are thought invidious, and treated as Marks of Disaffection to the Government itself. This deters many Persons from joining in any such Attempts, and others are prevail'd on by Goodnature, plausible Pretences, or Applications of a worse Kind; so that the

the only wise Method of keeping the *Crown* within its proper Bounds, is to suppress all Incroachments in their Birth.

Lastly, let it be consider'd that if the *Crown* should ever obtain a *standing Revenue*, sufficient to defray all the *ordinary Expences of the Government*, (and Nobody can pretend to say what a *general Excise* may produce) what Occasion will there be for the *Parliament* to meet at all, unless upon *extraordinary Emergences*?

As I chose to illustrate and strengthen the former Part of this Paper with the Authorities of Sir *William Temple* and Mr. *Locke*, it may be proper to acquaint the Reader that what I have said last is as strongly supported by the Reasonings of Mr. *Hampden*, who prefers a *Land-Tax*, or even the Revival of the *Chimney-Money*, to any Kind of *new Excises*; which must end, as He observes very justly, in a *general Excise*.

He concludes his *Considerations on this Subject*, as I shall do at present, in the following remarkable Words.

“ One Thing, I think, all are for; the preserving
 “ of the *Constitution*, and the maintaining our *Liberty*,
 “ for the Sake whereof all this Money is to be raised;
 “ and That is All, which I am pleading for. Let no
 “ Man be misled by a Pretence of *Convenience*, or *dis-*
 “ *burthening his Land in this Way of Taxing*. All
 “ Those are mistaken Arguments; and though they
 “ were not so; though all the Conveniences in the
 “ World were to be found in this *new Method*; though
 “ there were ever so great Ease to our *Lands* in it; yet
 “ the single Consideration of what the Nation hazards
 “ in giving a *Revenue*, that probably will *never be dis-*
 “ *continued*, and the Danger, to which the *Liberties of*
 “ *the Kingdom* will be exposed, if ever the *Crown shall*
 “ *be rich enough to govern without PARLIAMENTS*,
 “ is abundantly sufficient to over-balance whatever can
 “ be alledged to the contrary from Topicks of *present*
 “ *Ease, or private Interest*. THE CONSTITUTION,
 “ THE CONSTITUTION is our Happiness. Let any
 VOL. X. F “ *Inconveniences*

“ *Inconveniences* be submitted to, rather than *That* be
 “ brought into Danger. We stand upon a needless
 “ Point. The *Revenue of the Crown* is so very high
 “ already, that *one Remove more* does our Business.
 “ *England* can never be undone, but by its *own Con-*
 “ *sent*. Have a Care then of giving that *fatal Con-*
 “ *sent*. We have hitherto been the Envy of all our
 “ Neighbours for our *Liberties*, and the *Privileges We*
 “ enjoy; the greatest of which is being *governed by*
 “ *Laws, made by our own Representatives*. All We
 “ have is owing to the Preservation of *Parliaments*,
 “ and making their *frequent Meetings necessary*. Let
 “ *Taxes* be laid so, that they may cease with their
 “ *Cause*, and so *Parliaments* may not become unnecef-
 “ sary. — I shall stop here, and say no more concerning
 “ a *Land-Tax*, because this Paper is too long already;
 “ and because my chief Intent in writing it, as I said
 “ before, was not so much to urge Arguments for a
 “ *LAND-TAX*, as to offer some Considerations, which
 “ might shew the Danger of a *GENERAL EXCISE*.
 D.



N^o 337. SATURDAY, Decem. 16, 1732.

*The general Argument against EXCISES concluded
and summ'd up.*



HAVING now gone through the several
 Branches of the Argument against EX-
 CISES, I shall leave the *Mercbants* to
 defend their own Cause, as They may
 judge proper, when the Particulars of
 the *Scheme* are more fully explain'd;
 and I cannot conceal my Satisfaction, upon observing
 that

that what I have written upon this Subject seems agreeable to the Sentiments of *those Gentlemen*; for the reasonable Resolutions, which, I am told, They have lately taken to oppose an *Excise*, under any Shape, by all dutiful and lawful Methods, are sufficient to justify the Course of these Papers, and to convince the World that I have not endeavour'd to alarm Them without just Grounds.

My chief Design in this Enquiry was to give the Publick a full State of the Subject, in general, without entering into any Particulars; and therefore I would not suffer the Thread of my Argument to be interrupted by any of those Objections to it, which have been thrown out in some daily Papers; for though I promised to consider *every Thing of Weight, that should be urged on the other Side*, it cannot be expected that I should turn immediately out of the Road, to combat such Adversaries as have hitherto appear'd against Me. Nay, I believe the *Projectors* themselves would be very unwilling to have it thought that the Stress of their Argument lies in *those Papers*; and therefore I chuse to wait a Week or two longer, in Expectation of seeing the Subject undertaken by some abler and better instructed Hands. However, if it should appear that the *Projectors* are resolved to pursue their Scheme, and rest the Merits of it on the Writings of *these Gentlemen*, the Force of their Objections shall be consider'd in due Time; and if They have nothing in Reserve, much more to the Purpose than what They have already produced, They will be so far from having any Reason to triumph, that my Argument will appear with new Strength and Lustre upon such an Examination.

For this Reason, I hope my Correspondents will not take it ill that I have hitherto made so little Use of those Papers, with which They have already favour'd Me; for They will easily perceive, from what I have said, that I reserve them for another Occasion; and if They will please to furnish Me with any farther Lights,

They may depend on my paying them all proper Regard, as far as they concur with the Design of this Undertaking, and will serve to clear up the Point in Dispute.

In the mean Time, it will be proper to recapitulate the Substance of my general Argument, as it hath been deduced in the preceding Papers, and lay it in one View before the Publick.

First then, it appears that as the Prosperity, Riches and Strength of this Nation depend on *Trade*, so all possible Encouragement ought to be given to the Prosecution of it; and the *Merchant*, or *Trader*, being the most useful Member of the Commonwealth, hath a Right, at least, to the common Privileges of his Fellow-Subjects; whereas no Person, under the *Laws of Excise*, can be properly call'd a *Freeman*, or an *Englishman*, being deprived of that great and fundamental Privilege of *Magna Charta*, a *Trial by Juries*, and subjected to the arbitrary Determination of *Court-Officers*, who are not only Prosecutors, Evidence and Judges in their own Cause, but, being absolutely dependent on the *Crown*, for the Continuance of their Places, may be tempted, in bad Reigns, to give unjust Sentences against particular Men, in order to gratify the Malice, or Avarice, of a *corrupt Minister*. Nor is This the only bad Circumstance of *Excises*, with Regard to *Trade*; for no Man can properly call his Goods his own, even *after the Duty is paid*, being always liable to the Inquisition of *little Officers*, who too often think it their Duty to be as vexatious as possible; nor can the *Trader* dispose of them without a Permit from one of *these Officers*; which, besides the Fatigue to Himself, and the Air of Slavery, that it carries along with it, must prove very prejudicial to the Course of his Business.

It hath likewise been proved (I think, beyond Dispute) that *Excises* affect the Cause of *Liberty* in general, as well as the particular Interest of *Trade*; which

which have, indeed, a mutual Dependence on each other; for the vast Number of *civil Officers*, which the Execution of *such a Scheme* will necessary spread through all Parts of the Kingdom, must consequently have a very great Influence in the *Election of Members to serve in Parliament*; on the Freedom and Independence of which the Welfare of the whole Nation, the Liberties of the People, and the very Being of the Constitution absolutely depend.

I have also traced the Origin of *Excises*, as far as History gives us any clear Light into them, and shewn by what Methods they were first introduced into these Parts of *Europe*; from whence it appears that they have constantly been the Forerunners of *arbitrary Power*, and were never suffer'd in any *free Country*, till Convulsions in Government, and pressing Exigences of State have made them necessary. It is likewise evident from this Enquiry that they have been seldom or never laid aside, when once raised, though under the most plausible Pretences and Promises that they were intended only to supply a *present Necessity*, and should be taken off again, as soon as the *Occasion* ceased.

From thence I proceeded to the Nature of a *general Excise*; and have, I believe, convinced every disinterested Man in *England* that the Execution of *this Scheme* can end in nothing less than such a *general, extended Tax*, in whatever Sense it may be understood; especially, if We consider the Multiplicity of *Excises*, both on *native and imported Commodities*, already establish'd in this Kingdom, which have begun to insinuate themselves into *private Families*, as well as *publick Houses*. It hath been proved, at least, that *this Project* hath a direct and immediate Tendency to *such a general Excise*, as hath been constantly opposed by the best *Englishmen* in all Ages, particularly since the *Revolution*, and seems calculated to *bring a LORD-DANE* (as Mr. *Hampden* observes) *into every one of our Families*.

Having made these Remarks on *Excises* in general, and the *Scheme* now in Agitation, with Regard to the Trade, Liberties and Constitution of *Great Britain*, I proceeded to the *Letter-writer's Objections against Duties on Importation*, under the several Articles of *Drawbacks, Premiums on prompt Payment, Charges of Commission, Frauds, Smuggling, &c.* and I flatter myself that I have evinced the Fallacy, or Falshood of all his Arguments and Assertions on these Heads; for I think it demonstrable that the Conversion of the *Customs* into *Excises* would be so far from remedying any of these Evils, real or supposed, that it must have a quite contrary Effect; and the Advantages proposed by it seem equally groundless and chimerical. The *People*, I am sure, can receive no Ease from *such a Scheme*, however the *Projectors* may flatter Them with it, unless *Poverty* and *Slavery* are to be esteem'd Blessings; and I leave the World to judge whether a *Decrease of Trade* (which is the natural and almost necessary Consequence of the *other*) is likely to be attended with an *Improvement of the Revenue*. But supposing That to be the Case, I hope the single Consideration of some Advantage to the *Crown* will never be put in Competition with the Liberties and Constitution of a *whole Nation*.

The Practice of *Holland* hath been so much trumpeted in our Ears, on this Occasion, both within Doors and without, that I thought it necessary to shew the monstrous Inconclusiveness and Absurdity of such Reasonings from the different Circumstances of the two Nations, in almost every Particular. I have likewise observed that the *Excises of Holland* differ very materially from Those in *England*, and that their *Officers* have not the same Power to search Houses, or keep the People under Subjection. Indeed, this Argument, drawn from the Use of *Excises* in *Holland*, is so very ridiculous, as well as impolitick, that I hope the *Projectors* and their *Advocates* will have the Modesty to insist upon it no longer; but We may see from hence to what little Shifts

Shifts Men are driven, when They engage in *Projects*, so contrary to the Interests and Inclinations of a whole People.

Lastly, I have consider'd *this Scheme* in View to a *Land-Tax*; the Reduction, or Abolition of which hath been thrown out as a Bait to catch weak and unthinking Minds; but I hope They are now sufficiently arm'd against such a Snare by the Reasonings of Mr. *Locke* and Mr. *Hampden*, whose excellent Judgment and good Sense have been as little disputed, as their Zeal and Affection for those Principles of Liberty, on which the present Government is so happily establish'd.

I have, at the same Time, taken particular Care to prevent any Misrepresentation of my Meaning, as if I was pleading for the Continuance of a *Land-Tax*; which is so far from being my Design, that I have all along acknowledged the great Hardship of it, and contended as much as any Man for a *Reduction of our Expences*, which is the only effectual Way of easing the *British Land-holders*. It is, indeed, for this Reason that I have exerted my Endeavours so strenuously to prevent the Establishment of a *general Excise*, which would end in a *perpetual Land-Tax* on their Estates, under another Name, infinitely more grievous and burthensome than was ever yet felt in this Kingdom.

I have likewise added a seasonable Caution, that as a *general Excise* will certainly be permanent, when once obtain'd, so the *Exemption of Land* will be only temporary and precarious; perhaps, for a Year or two only; or as long as the Affairs of *Europe* may continue in their present State of Tranquility; but it is ridiculous to suppose that the *Projectors* will not have Recourse to a *Land-Tax*, upon the first extraordinary Occasion for Money; and thus the Freeholders of *Great Britain* may live to see Themselves saddled with *both these Burthens* at the same Time.

The Reader hath now the Sum of my Argument in one View, from which He will be the better able to judge

judge of the several Points, on which it is founded, and to which the *Advocates for Excises* ought to give a direct Answer, if They are resolved to proceed in the Justification of their *Scheme*.

But I hope They will chuse to desist, and give us one Instance of their real Concern for the Principles of *Liberty*, and the Interest of *their Country*, by refusing to sacrifice them, in so essential a Point, for any *lucrative Considerations*.

I shall therefore conclude the whole with observing, that if *this Scheme* hath such a manifest Tendency to a *general Excise*, or to bring the People of *England* under the *Laws and Officers of Excise*, in Opposition to *Magna Charta* itself and the fundamental Laws of our *Constitution*; if it is of such pernicious Consequence to the *Trade, Manufactures and Navigation* of this Kingdom, and cannot possibly answer one good, or salutary End proposed by it; but, on the contrary, will put a finishing Hand to all our Misfortunes, and deprive us of our most distinguishing Privileges above other Nations; if This, I say, should appear to be the Case, We have Reason to hope that our Representatives in Parliament will reject the very Proposal of *such a Scheme* with the utmost Indignation; and if the *Projectors* should continue to prosecute it, in Defiance of Reason and against the general Sense of the whole People, I must leave the World to judge whether it will not be an undeniable Proof that They are more sollicitous after Power, than the Welfare of their Country, or the Honour and Happiness of his Majesty's Government.

D.



SATURDAY,



N^o 338. SATURDAY, Decem. 23, 1732.

*Some Considerations on the Dangers and Oppressions of a
STANDING ARMY.*



SHALL now proceed, in Pursuance of a late Promise, to the Consideration of a STANDING ARMY, and will examine it with the same Freedom and Plainness that I have treated the *Scheme of Excises*; to which it bears so near an Analogy, that the Transition is too natural from *one* to *the other*.

This Subject hath, indeed, been so often and so fully discussed, on several Occasions since the *Revolution*, both within Doors and without, that the Examination of it, at present, may be thought both unnecessary and fruitless; but it is a Point of such Importance to the Liberties of the whole Nation, and the very Constitution of our Government, that it ought to be perpetually rung in the Ears of the *People*, and never given up, whilst there remains the least Hope, or Prospect, of Deliverance. Whatever therefore may be the Success of my Endeavours, I am resolved to exert them, as far as I am able, against the Establishment of a *Power*, which I apprehend to be of the most grievous Nature, as well as the most dangerous and terrible Consequence in a *free Country*.

I shall confine myself, in this Disquisition, to the following Points.

1. I will explain the Dangers of a *standing Army*, in general, to the Constitution of a *free Government*.

2. I

2. I will consider whether there is any Necessity, at present, of keeping up the *same Number of Forces* in this Kingdom.

3. I will enquire and point out where the *Strength of the Nation* really lies.

I am induced to follow this Method, not only for the Sake of Brevity and Clearness, but because I find it chalk'd out to me by the Author of the *Free-Briton*, in his Papers upon this Subject, last *March*; in which He hath done little more than reported the Sentiments of his *Patron*, as will be obvious to any Body, who gives Himself the Trouble of comparing *his Papers* with the Speech of that *honourable Gentleman*, on the *same Occasion*, which is since made publick. This, indeed, is his usual Manner of writing on all Subjects, which fall under the Deliberation of Parliament; and for this Purpose He *fatigues Himself* (as He is pleas'd to express it) *with Attendances in either House*. I must therefore desire the *Gentlemen on the other Side* to excuse me for taking the same Liberty with their Arguments, which are likewise printed, and sometimes presuming to make Use of their Expressions, when I cannot change them, without losing some Part of their Force and Spirit. — But to proceed.

I propose then, in the *first Place*, to explain the Dangers of a *standing Army*, in general, to the Constitution of a *free Government*.

And here I must begin with observing that the *Advocates for standing Armies* endeavour to make a Distinction, where there is really no Difference. They tell us, with a great deal of Pomp and Confidence, that They have no Thoughts of a *standing Army*, and content only for a *Land-Force*, sufficient to prevent any sudden Attempt, to be rais'd and continued by Consent of *Parliament*.

Nothing surely can be more ridiculous than to hear Men insist on such a Discrimination, when the Fallacy of it hath been so often expos'd by Argument, and so fully

fully confirm'd by a long Course of Experience. Will any Man pretend to say that a numerous Body of regular Forces, kept up without Intermission for above forty Years past, though with the Consent of *Parliament*, is not to all Intents and Purposes a *standing Army*? Does not *such a Parliamentary Force* give the Crown, which hath the sole Command of it, the same Power as any *standing Army* whatsoever? And therefore can it be said, with any Regard to Truth or Modesty, that our Constitution is in no Danger from it? Are not *both* equally oppressive to the People, at whose Expence they are maintain'd; and may not *one* be made Use of to take away their Liberties, as well as the *other*? — In former Reigns, indeed, some of our Princes rais'd and maintain'd Armies, by Virtue of their own Authority, under the Pretence of *Prerogative*. This was condemn'd as illegal, soon after the *Revolution*; and the Reason of distinguishing between a *national*, or *Parliamentary Army*, and a *royal Army*, in the *Bill of Rights*, was founded on a Presumption that a *free Parliament*, which was likewise provided for in the *same Bill*, would never consent to a *standing Army*, in Times of Peace, when there could be no Occasion for them, besides oppressing and enslaving the People. But if an *ambitious Prince*, or a *wicked Minister*, should ever find Means to corrupt the *Parliament* into their Measures, it would no Doubt be a great Consolation to the People of *England* that their Chains have been forged by their *own Representatives*, and rivetted on Them by the Authority of *LAW*.

I am ready to allow that there is a material Difference between the late King *James's Army*, kept up *without Consent of Parliament*, and That at present subsisting; but supposing King *James's Army* had received the Sanction of *Parliament*, would it have been the less grievous and terrible to the People; or might it not, in that *Case*, have proved a more effectual Instrument for completing their Destruction?

We

We are told, indeed, *that a Parliamentary Army never yet did any Harm to this Nation*; an Assertion, which contains such a glaring and palpable Falshood, that it hardly deserves any Confutation. What, I pray, was *Cromwel's Army*? Was it not a *Parliamentary Army*, in the strictest Sense; being raised, commission'd and supported by the *Parliament* only, without any Dependence on the *Crown*? Yet did not even *that Army* turn against their Masters, upon the first Disgust, and erect a Tyranny to Themselves, upon the Ruins of the Constitution?

To This it hath been answer'd, that *Cromwel* was obliged to purge, garble and model his Army, before He could put his Designs in Execution; which is very true, indeed, but nothing to the Purpose; for the *Crown* being invested with the sole Command of our *Armies*, as I observed before, the *Prince* and his *Ministers* have it in their Power to do the same, whenever They think fit; and though it cannot, perhaps, be effected without Notice and Observation; yet who will be able to prevent it; especially if a *corrupt Parliament* should, at any time, concur with the *Court* in such a Design?

Another Argument, in Favour of these *Parliamentary Armies*, as they are somewhat improperly call'd, is, *that they are continued only from Year to Year*. This hath been the constant Cant ever since the *Revolution*, and is now grown so stale a Pretext, that it would be an Affront to common Sense to give it a serious Answer, or suppose any Man so weak as to be deluded by it any longer; for where is the Difference between a *perpetual, establish'd Army*, and the *same Number of Forces continued from Year to Year*, as little more than Matter of Form? For my Part, I can see none; unless it consists in the Aggravation of being amused with repeated Hopes and Promises of seeing them disbanded.

But We are farther told that We need not have any Apprehensions from the *present Army*, because there are
some

Gentlemen in it of the best Estates and Families, against us; who never can be supposed capable of joining any Measures for enslaving a Country, where They have so great an Interest, and where their Ancestors have so often signalized Themselves in the Cause of Liberty.

As plausible as this Argument may seem, I am sure it is not altogether conclusive; for though *Men of Birth and Estate* have certainly more Reason to stand against any Invasions on the Constitution of their Country than *meer Soldiers of Fortune*; yet We often find that the Thirst of Power and Command is apt to prevail, in ambitious Minds, over the native Love of Liberty, and all Regard for the Welfare of Posterity. Therefore any Prince should be able to make it their immediate Interest to concur with Him in his Designs, his Army, commanded by *such Men*, would certainly be of the most formidable Nature. I am ready to allow *Officers*, who are obliged to follow the Camp for livelihood, lye under greater Temptations to obey Orders; but then it ought to be consider'd that, in such a Case, all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* in the Kingdom would unite against Them, and give us a fair Chance of defeating their Designs; whereas if a great Number of *these Gentlemen* should be induced, by Considerations, to act in Concert with the *Prince*, and put Themselves at the Head of his *Army*, all their Attachments, Dependents and Followers would naturally weigh Themselves into the same Scale, and thereby weigh down the *popular Interest*. This was, in a great measure, the Case of *Cæsar's Army* and of *Cromwell's Army*. This is, at present, the Case of the Armies in *France, Spain, Germany*, and other despotick Countries; where the *Nobility* participate with the *Prince* in the Dominion over their miserable Fellow-Subjects; for that Reason all Attempts to deliver Themselves from the Tyranny of a *standing Army* are vain and impracticable.

But This (God be praised !) is not yet our Case, and I hope never will. Nobody can have a better Opinion of the *present Officers of our Army* than myself; many of whom I know to be Men of strict Honour and Integrity, as well as signal Bravery and Conduct. When I have said This, (and I speak it without Irony, Flattery, or double Meaning) I hope They will excuse me for adding, that as We cannot long depend on their Service, or on having their Posts supply'd with Gentlemen of the same Characters, so the Continuance of a *standing Army* is of very dangerous Consequence; for (to use the Words of a *Gentleman of the House of Commons*, upon this Occasion) *their Lives are uncertain; nor can We be sure how long They may be continued in Command. They may be all dismiss'd in a Moment, and proper Tools of Power put in their Room,*— Besides, as the same *Gentleman* observes, *the Affections of the Soldiers towards their Country, the Honour and Integrity of the Under-Officers are not to be depended on. By the military Law, the Administration of Justice is so quick, and the Punishments so severe, that neither Officer, nor Soldier dares offer to dispute the Orders of his supreme Commander. He must not consult his own Inclinations. If an Officer were commanded to pull his own Father out of this House, he must do it. He dares not disobey. Immediate Death would be the sure Consequence of the least Grumbling.*

But all the *Jacobites* in the Kingdom, it seems, exclaim loudly against a *standing Army*.—And what then? Are We obliged to approve every Thing, that the *Jacobites* condemn? I believe, They dread a *Famine*, a *Pestilence*, or a *general Excise*; and ought We to pray for any of of those Curses, in meer Spight to the *Jacobites*?—Surely, there are Ways enough of expressing our Affection for his present Majesty, as a certain *Gentleman* once observed, without imitating the *humorous Lieutenant* and falling in Love with his *Guards*.

The

The Advocates for a *standing Army* go higher still, and draw the personal Virtues of the *King* into their Argument. — “The Question now before us, *says an* “*honourable Gentleman*, does not any Way relate to “the Preservation, or Loss of our *Liberties*. We are “not to suppose, We cannot suppose that his *Majesty* “is to employ the Forces We are to keep on Foot in “any *illegal Way*; or that He is to make Use of *Them*, “or any *other Means*, to incroach upon the *Liberties* “of our *Country*. We have had sufficient Experience “of his Majesty’s *Wisdom* and Goodness not to entertain the least Suspicion of any such Design.

This is not only a fallacious, but a most disingenuous Method of Reasoning; and however it may prevail *within Doors*, will have no Sort of Weight upon us *without*; for though We are always ready to acknowledge his Majesty’s *Wisdom* and *Goodness*, yet We cannot think them a sufficient Security against the Dangers of a *standing Army*. This was the general Sense of the Parliament, as well as the Nation, after the Peace of *Ryswick*; when King *William* was obliged to disband the greatest Part of his Army, though nobody ever disputed his *Wisdom*, and all the Friends of Liberty applauded his *Goodness*. Nay, it is very remarkable that the *Continuance of the Army*, at that Time, was opposed the most strenuously by Those, who were known to be cordially in the Interest of the *Revolution*, and could not be suspected of any *Jacobite* Principles, or Intentions. Amongst others, I cannot forbear mentioning the late Mr. *Trenchard*, who wrote so boldly, so justly, and even prophetically against a *standing Army*, that I wish every *Englistman* would review his Arguments, at this Juncture, as they are publish’d in the second Volume of *State Tracts*.

I mention This, for the Honour of Mr. *Trenchard*; because I find *some Gentlemen* are willing to impute the Miscarriages of the *Partition Treaty* and all the subsequent Misfortunes of that Reign to the *Reduction of the*

Army, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*; whereas nothing can be more falſe and ridiculous, as I have ſhew'd already in another Place.

I mention it likewiſe to expoſe the poor Artifice of pleading the *perſonal Virtues* of any Prince as an Argument for keeping up a *ſtanding Army*; for the more Virtues He poſſeſſes, the more beloved He will certainly be, and conſequently have leſs Occaſion to ſupport Himſelf by *Force*. The beſt Man in the World ought not to be truſted with the Liberties of a People, who cannot properly be ſaid to be *free*, when They have put it in the *Prince's* Power to make Himſelf abſolute at Pleaſure; for it is an excellent Obſervation of the late Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltown*, that a Government is not only a Tyranny, when tyrannically exerciſed; but alſo when there is no ſufficient Caution in the Conſtitution that it may not be exerciſed tyrannically.

Befides, We know by fatal Experience that whatever Power is granted to the *beſt Prince*, will be always claim'd as a Right by the *worſt*; and that a *Parliament* cannot reſuſe it, without coming almoſt to a Rupture, and giving Him to underſtand that They dare not truſt Him.

Let us now turn our Thoughts a little to the *Charge* and *Oppreſſion* of keeping up ſuch a Number of Forces in Times of Peace. The Sum granted by Parliament for this Purpoſe, laſt Year, was 653,216 *l.* which was thought ſufficient, not many Years ago, to defray more than half the Expences of the Government; and the Nation is now ſo grievouſly burthen'd with *Debts* and *Taxes*, which affect our *Trade* and *Manuſactures* in the moſt ſenſible Manner, that, inſtead of projecting *new Excifes*, We ought to think of eaſing the People from ſome of Thoſe already impoſed, by a Reduction of our *Expences*.

But it is likewiſe to be conſider'd that the Sum granted by Parliament is not the only Charge of maintaining theſe Forces; for beſides this 653,216 *l.* which
the

the Government receives, a very large additional Tax is laid upon Those, who are obliged to provide Them with *Quarters*. *There is not a Soldier quarter'd upon an Innkeeper, in Town or Country, (as a very worthy Gentleman observed) but what costs that Innkeeper near as much as He costs the Government;* besides being subject to the capricious Humours and insolent Behaviour, to the Waste, Incroachments and Extortions of *such Inmates*. Nobody can travel the Country without hearing Complaints of this Kind, or being convinced of the Justness of them with his own Eyes; and thus We see these poor People are already under the worst Complication of Distempers in the World; an *Excise* and a *standing Army*.—God grant that they may not soon affect us all alike!

This bidden Way of raising Money upon the People, (as the same Gentleman justly calls it) by Way of Bill-leting, is not only a partial and unequal Tax, which falls intirely on one particular Body of Men, already distress'd enough on other Accounts, but is likewise attended with a farther bad Effect; as it gives Those, who have the Direction of our Army, an Opportunity of oppressing some Parts of the Nation, and exempting others, just as They happen to please, or displease Them in the Choice of their Representatives. Thus may the Freedom of Elections be violated in the most effectual Manner, and a Parliament pack'd at the Discretion of the Court.

It is meer Trifling to tell us, that no such Things have been done in *this Reign*, or under *this Administration*. Perhaps not. We do not charge Them with it. But it is notorious that such Things have been done, and may be done again, whenever a *Minister* shall think fit to gratify his Spleen, or find it necessary for his Safety and Support.

The chief Reason why a *British Parliament* would never hear of *Barracks*, was because it seem'd to have a Tendency to the Establishment of a *standing Army*,

and might look as if They admitted it to be a Part of our *Constitution*. But if the *same Number of Forces* are to be perpetuated on us and our Posterity, *by a regular Continuation from Year to Year*, I am not able to discern any great Difference in the Case. They are now a *distinct Body of Men from the rest of the People*; train'd up in *different Principles and Customs*; subject to *different Laws*; and oblig'd, under the severest Penalties, to pay an implicit Obedience to the Orders of their *commanding Officers*. Nay, their *commanding Officers* themselves are under the same unhappy Circumstances, and must pay the same blind Obedience to *their Superiors*.

Nor are even These all the Evils, which attend a *standing Army*. We might insist on the frequent *Quarrels, Murders and Robberies* committed by Them; as well as the *Loss of so many useful Hands to the Publick*, and consequently the great Detriment to *Trade, Husbandry and Manufactures*. To these We might likewise add the bad Examples of *Leudness, Debauchery and Idleness*, which They spread through all Parts of the Kingdom; besides *other Inconveniences* of an inferior Nature, which are the necessary and unavoidable Consequences of keeping up *such a Body of Men*, in Times of Peace, notwithstanding the most exact Discipline and the severest Punishments.——But I have said enough already to shew the Mischief, Danger and Oppression of *standing Armies*; and shall conclude, at present, with observing that as they have been the Destruction of all *free Governments*, antient and modern, so I hope effectual and timely Care will be taken to preserve *our*
can. D.



SATURDAY,

N^o 339. SATURDAY, Dec. 30, 1732.

An Enquiry into the Necessity of keeping up the present Number of standing Forces in this Kingdom.



HAVING given my Reasons why a *standing Army*, even with the Consent of *Parliament*, is dangerous to the Constitution of a *free Government*, I am next to enquire whether the Continuance of the *same Number of Forces* is necessary to the common Safety, at this Juncture.

The *Advocates for military Power* endeavour to sooth us into an Opinion that the Liberties of so powerful a Kingdom as *Great Britain* can never be over-run by an Army of *eighteen thousand Men*. This They are pleased to call a *Handful of Men*; tho' it is a more numerous Body than was ever kept up here, in Times of Peace, till of very late Years; unless *these Gentlemen* should think fit to instance the Reign of King *James the 2d*, who claim'd a *dispensing Power*, at the same Time, and made an open Attack upon all our Laws and Liberties. Nay, it is a much larger Number than was thought sufficient for our Security at home, even during the two last Wars, whilst a *Pretender* to the Crown was publickly entertained at the Court of *France*, and *Louis the 14th* lay under the strongest Temptations, both of Principle and Interest, to disturb us at home, in order to divert us from pushing the War with Vigour abroad.

Besides, *these Gentlemen* often forget Themselves; and contradict one another in the Course of this Debate; for though, in some Places, They endeavour to ridicule our Apprehensions of Danger from so *small an Army*; yet, in others, They plead for the *present Number of Forces*,

Forces, because if We keep up any *Army at all*, it ought to be sufficient to defeat any Attempts, either by *foreign Invasion*, or *domestick Insurrection*; That is, sufficient to awe and subdue the People of *England*, as well as any *foreign Power*, that may invade us; for as Mr. * *Trenchard* very justly observes, *that Army which can do no Hurt, can do no Good. — It is impossible to consider of a standing Force, which shall be sufficient to oppose a foreign Power, without considering it, at the same Time, sufficient to suppress the Subject at home; for They must beat Those, who, you suppose, can beat Us; and I must confess I am unwilling to depend on their good Will.*

There are many Instances of Nations, which have been subdued by a much smaller Number of *mercenary Troops* than Those at present in Dispute; and, perhaps, I might add that no People in the World are more liable to these Dangers than We in *England*, where there are so few *strong Places*, and Those in the *King's Hands*, as well as the *Militia* and the *civil Magistracy*; besides the vast Influence, which the Disposition of *Employments, Offices and Honours*, ecclesiastical, civil and military, gives Him over many of the Nobility, Gentry and others, in every Country. What therefore could a rude, unarm'd, undisciplin'd Multitude do against such a firm, united, and well-compacted Force, even Supposing there were no *standing Army* to oppose Them? But when it is back'd with a Body of *eighteen thousand regular Troops*, nothing but a Miracle could make any *popular Insurrection* successful, whatever Provocations there might be for it; especially, if We consider the farther Restraint of the *Riot-Act*, which is sufficient of itself to crush any such Attempt in its Infancy; and thus the People, in a *bad Reign*, would be oblig'd to submit to any Burthens, which their Governors might think fit to lay upon Them.

* See his *Answer to the Ballancing Letter. State Tracts of King William, vol. 2. p. 593.*

I mention This, only to shew the Dangers of *such a Power*, in general, without designing to insinuate that We have any Reason to fear the bad Effects of it, at present ; but it certainly behoves a wise People to take some Care for Posterity ; and as We have often been reduced to the unhappy Necessity of asserting our Liberties, Sword in Hand, We ought not to divest Ourselves, or our Children, of the same Means, if They should ever become necessary, in Times to come ; for no People can be justly call'd *free*, as I observ'd before, when They have no *dernier Resort* from Oppression, and it is in the Power of the *Prince* to make Himself absolute, whenever He pleases.

But We can entertain no Apprehensions of this Nature from his *present Majesty*, who desires to reign in the Hearts of his Subjects, and hath been graciously pleas'd to promise us from the Throne, *that He would reduce his Forces as soon as it could be done without Prejudice to the common Cause, and consistent with the Interest of his Kingdom.*

We were in Hopes, indeed, that the late Treaty of *Vienna* would have put such a desirable Opportunity in his Hands ; and therefore a *Reduction of the Army* was proposed and vigorously supported by a great Number of Gentlemen, in the last Session of Parliament ; but a *certain honourable Person* insisting very strongly on the Necessity of keeping them up, *for one Year longer*, in order to see whether the several Powers of *Europe* would acquiesce in the Dispositions made by our *late Treaties*, the Majority thought fit to concur with Him ; and since none of those Powers have endeavour'd to embroil the present State of Affairs, We have the utmost Reason to expect, nay to depend on a Reduction this Year, when the Expediency of some Ease to our *Trade and Manufactures* is so generally acknowledged on all Sides, however We may differ about the Means.

I am unwilling to specify any *particular Number of Men*, to which our Army ought to be reduced in the present

present Juncture ; because I think no *military standing Force* at all ought to be made a *Part of our Constitution*, nor even kept up from Year to Year, more than is sufficient to man our Garrisons at home and abroad ; but whatever Reduction our Superiors may be pleased to make, I hope it will consist in the breaking of *intire Corps*, or *Regiments* ; as That is the only Reduction, which can give us any Relief from the Danger, or any considerable Ease from the Expence of a *standing Army* ; for it ought to be particularly observed that above half our Expence, on this Account, is occasion'd by the great Number of *Commission and Non-Commission Officers*, who compose our present Army ; and in This too consists our chief Danger ; for as the Reduction of a *few private Men* in each Company would produce no considerable Saving to the Publick, so neither would it ease us from any reasonable Fears on that Account. Whilst the *same Corps* are preserved, which are properly the *Stamina* of an Army, it will be a very easy Matter, at any Time, to fill them up, by only beating a Drum about Town ; and therefore I should look upon the *present Army* to be almost as dangerous to our Constitution, though the Companies of each Regiment were reduced to *twenty Men* each. It is likewise proper to observe, in this Place, that though our Army does not amount to quite 18000 Men, yet, considering the *low Establishment of the Regiments*, They may be very easily increased to a very formidable Number, without any considerable Charge to the Crown.

But since our *Representatives* thought fit, last Year, to contend only for a Reduction of the Army to *twelve thousand Men*, as a *minus Malum*, let us admit that Number to be necessary, at present, and see what hath been objected to such a Reduction.

Mr. *Walsingham* tells us, *that* four thousand Men are *absolutely necessary for the Security of Scotland, and that* two thousand more, *commonly call'd* Invalids, *are made Use of to garrison the fortified Towns of England ; so that*
if

if the Number should be reduced to twelve thousand Men, there would be no more than six thousand, who could be made Use of, on any sudden Occasion, to repel Attempts from abroad, or to quell Insurrections at home. He adds, *that Part of these six thousand Men, and a very great Part, too, must be encamp'd about London, for the Preservation of common Quiet in the CAPITAL of the Kingdom.* — As the latter Part of this Argument is taken almost *verbatim* from the Mouth of his *honourable Patron*, I shall pay more Regard to it than it would otherwise deserve.

I will admit, for Argument Sake, *that four thousand Men are necessary for the Security of SCOTLAND*; That is, not so much to prevent any Invasion from abroad, as to keep Them in a proper Subjection to *England*; for They are certainly a People of a very stubborn Spirit, and do not pay their *Taxes* with the same Alacrity with their Neighbours a little more *southward*. As an *Englishman* therefore I can have no Objection against bridling of *Scotland*; though I might, perhaps, be of a different Opinion, if I had been born on the other Side of the *Tweed*. But I must beg Leave to wish, on the same Principle, as an *Englishman*, that We had some Security that the Forces, which may be necessary for that Employment in *Scotland*, shall never be made Use of for the same Purpose here; and I think it would not be unreasonable to make it equally penal, by Law, for those Forces to pass the *Tweed*, as it was for the *Roman Army*, employ'd abroad, to pass the *Rubicon*.

I will likewise admit *two thousand Invalids* to be necessary for garrisoning our fortify'd Towns, without any farther Enquiry, and proceed to the Question whether *six thousand Men* are not sufficient for all other just and reasonable Purposes of the State, in Times of Peace.

We are told by the *Free-Briton* and his *Patron*, (for it is impossible to disunite Them) *that a very great Part of this Number is necessary to guard the CAPITAL.*

I am

I am ready to allow that, in Times of Danger, when We have Reason to apprehend an Invasion from abroad, or a Rebellion at home, it is necessary to prevent any Insurrections in the *Capital of the Kingdom*; but I cannot possibly conceive what Occasion there can be for a Body of *four, or five thousand regular Forces* to secure the Quiet of *London*, in Times of Peace and Tranquility, like the present. The *civil Magistrate*, with the Assistance of the *Militia*, under proper Regulations, would certainly be sufficient to quell any little Tumults, which may happen to arise there. — But of This I shall speak more fully in another Paper,

The Kings of *England* have been so long attended with a Body-Guard of regular Forces, that it would be thought Want of Respect to deny his present Majesty the *same military Equipage*, which his Predecessors have enjoy'd since the *Restoration*; but surely a much less Number than Those, now quarter'd about *London* and call'd *Guards*, would be sufficient for this Purpose; and nobody, I believe, will insist on the Necessity of Them for preserving the Peace at *Opera's* and *Play-houses*.

I mention This, without any Intention of pointing out the present Regiments of *Guards* as the most proper Corps to be broken, or reduced; but only to shew that some of Them may be safely drawn out, upon Occasion, to serve other Purposes, besides guarding the Person of his Majesty, and securing the Quiet of the *Capital*.

Let us now take a View of the more general Arguments against a *Reduction*.

First, it is said by a most ingenious and florid Orator, that *We never did yet reduce our Army, but that Reduction was the Occasion of some Plot, or Machination against us.* To support this Objection, He instances the late Rebellion in *Scotland*, the *Spanish Invasion*, and the Bishop of *Rockester's* Conspiracy, in the last Reign, as the Consequences of reducing our Army, at several Times.

Times. To These He might add the *South-Sea Scheme*, the *Penny-Post-Letter Plot*, and *Belloni's Conspiracy*, which are all as much to the Purpose. The only Answer I shall make to this Objection is, that it will hold equally strong against a Reduction, at any Time, and is plainly calculated with a Design to prepare us for a *perpetual standing Army*.

Of the same Nature is the Argument of another very *honourable Gentleman*, concerning the Danger of having the Pretender stol'n in upon us. This naturally puts us in Mind of Mr. Bay's *Army in the Rehearsal, which lay INCOG at Knights-bridge*. But, to be as serious as possible on such an Occasion, will not this Argument always hold, as long as there is a Pretender to the Crown; and since the Person, who now claims it, hath several Children already born, when can We hope to be relieved from the Burthen of a *standing Army*, according to this Method of Reasoning?

The same Gentleman is pleas'd to observe, that the Interest and Credit, which every State in Europe hath, or can expect, in the publick Negotiations thereof, depends entirely upon the Number of regular Troops They can command upon any Emergency.

Now to This I reply, that if our Reputation abroad depends intirely upon the Number of our *standing Army at home*, as He asserts, We ought to keep up three or four Times the Number; but I must beg Leave to apprehend that our Influence abroad depends on quite different Points, as I shall hereafter endeavour to demonstrate.

This leads me to another Argument, in Behalf of *standing Armies*, which hath been advanced by some of his Advocates; I mean, that We ought to keep up at least fifty, or sixty thousand Men, if our Country was not an ISLAND; and, perhaps, I might have nothing to urge against it, if That was really our Case; but since God hath been pleas'd to encompass us with a natural Defence of Seas and Rocks, I cannot possibly conceive

what Purpose such a Supposition can serve in the present Argument.

As to the *Disaffection of the People*, which hath likewise been urged, on this Occasion, I think it sufficient to answer that nothing serves the Cause of *Jacobitism* so much as keeping up a *numerous standing Army, in Times of Peace*. To This I will add an old Observation, and a very just one, though it may seem a little paradoxical; *viz. that the most likely Way to bring in the Pretender, is burthening the People with a large standing Army to keep Him out.*

It hath been farther urged, by the *same Gentlemen*, that a Reduction of *whole Regiments* would be attended with great Hardships on many of those *brave Officers*, who have served their Country faithfully in the late Wars, and are disabled, by their Profession, from getting a Livelyhood in any other Way. I heartily wish there was no Weight in this Objection; which I really think to be an Objection against a *standing Army* in general, as it breeds up so many Gentlemen to that Way of Life, and will always be a powerful Motive against any *Reduction*. But as nobody can have a more affectionate Concern for *those Gentlemen* than myself, so I believe I may venture to promise for the Nation, in general, that if They were sure of being relieved from the Burthen and Dangers of a *standing Army*, in Times to come, They would not grumble at any Provision, which the Parliament might think fit to make for the *reduced Officers*.

It is natural to make one Reflection on the Tenor of all these Arguments; by which the *honourable Gentleman* and his *Advocates* seem resolved to fulfil the Prediction of a *Jacobite Writer*, at the Beginning of his late Majesty's Reign, who endeavoured to terrify the Freeholders of *Great Britain* with Apprehensions that, if the *Whigs* prevail'd, They must expect to be govern'd by a *standing Army*.

There

There are two Arguments more against any *Reduction* at present, which I shall only just mention, with a short Remark upon each.

One was started by a very *witty Gentleman*, who hath lately distinguish'd Himself by his *Speeches at home*. This *worthy Orator* was pleas'd to observe that the many *scandalous and seditious Libels*, which had been lately spread about the Kingdom, were a sufficient Proof that the Spirit of *Jacobitism* was not yet extinguish'd, and therefore We ought not to reduce any of our Forces. But to This it was reply'd, in a proper Place, that, even supposing the Fact to be true, (and it would be meer Farce to dispute it with *such a Gentleman*) a *standing Army* of SCRIBBLERS seem'd to be a more natural Expedient than a *standing Army* of SOLDIERS; and, God knows, the present Administration, or any Administration, will never want such a Support!

The *other Argument*, hinted at above, was advanced by a *Gentleman*, equally remarkable for his *Negotiations abroad*; who pleaded against the Reduction of the Army, because the *Common-Council of London* thought fit to reject a Proposal for setting up King *William's* Statue in *Cheapside*, where They had lately got a *Conduit* pull'd down, with some Difficulty, which had proved a great Nuisance to Them. From hence one would naturally conclude that *eighteen thousand Men* ought to be maintain'd for setting up *Statues*, in Defiance of the Citizens; and it may, perhaps, seem surprizing to some People that They have not yet been employ'd in that Service.

I am sorry that I cannot treat such Arguments as These, for the Continuance of a large *standing Army*, without Ridicule; which I know is very disagreeable to the *Gentlemen on the other Side*. But it is, indeed, impossible to avoid it; and I should be really ashamed to mention them at all, if they did not proceed from *Persons*, to whom We are obliged to pay more than

ordinary Deference. They must therefore give me Leave to apply the Words of a late *ministerial Writer*, in Favour of *Excises*, to the present Purpose. — *This the Free-Briton hath raved at in Print, and his Patrons have not blus'd to do it in Places, where such Fallacies were not altogether so becomingly introduced.*

For my Part, I think They had much better speak out at once, and confess, without any Hesitation, that the *present Number of military Forces* is necessary to support a *certain Scheme* in Agitation, which They find to be very disagreeable to the general Inclinations of the People,

I shall therefore conclude my present Argument with observing, that a *perpetual standing Army of eighteen thousand Men* was even lately thought so unjustifiable a Subject, that the *ministerial Writers* used to contend for it only, during the *unsettled State of Affairs*, and promised us that We should be relieved from some Part of it, as soon as they were adjusted; but the Arguments, made Use of last Year, give us the most dreadful Apprehensions, as they are founded on the Necessity of keeping up *the same Number of Forces at all Times*. However, since the *honourable Gentleman in the Administration* was pleased to insist upon it, for *one Year only*, till We saw whether the Powers of *Europe* would acquiesce in our *late Treaties*, and nothing to the contrary having appear'd, We hope that He will have the Goodness to desire it no longer; for if the *same Number of Forces* should be now continued, We can have no Reason to expect a Reduction at any Time; and thus a *standing Army of near eighteen thousand Men* will, indeed, become a Part of our Constitution; or rather our *antient, civil Constitution* will be in Danger of being converted, by Degrees, into a *military Government*.

The *honourable Gentleman* was of the same Opinion Himself, and reason'd most vigorously for it, in the Year 1718. I could wish that his Speech, at that Time, were extant, as well as That in the Year 1732, that

N^o 340. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 89

that We might have the Plea^ure of comparing them together, and from thence form a Judgment whether the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, or the MINISTER, spoke most like an *honest Englishman* and a *Man of Sense*.

But whatever his former, or his present Opinion may be upon this Head, We rely on his *Majesty's* most gracious Promise, and the Wi^sdom of our *Representatives* for such Relief, as They shall think most proper and expedient, in our present Circumstances. D.



N^o 340. SATURDAY, Jan. 6, 1732-3.

Some Observations on the natural Strength and Security of this Kingdom.



Believe every one of my Readers hath run before me, in this Part of the Argument, and concluded that I mean, by our *natural Strength*, the *royal Navy of England* and the known Bravery of our *People*, who might be easily form'd into a *regular Militia*, sufficient to answer all the Purposes of a *standing Army*.

On *these two Bulwarks* our Ancestors have rely'd with Safety for many Generations, and the most glorious of our former Kings have desired no other Guard, in Times of Peace abroad, though They had powerful Competitors and Parties against Them within the Bowels of the Kingdom; for even during the long and bloody Conte^{sts} between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, it is very remarkable that whichever Party happen'd to prevail, They disbanded their *Army*, as soon as the Action was over, and scorn'd to secure Them-

selves, by subjecting the Kingdom to a *military Government*.

These Points have been fully explain'd already by several Writers of the first Note ; but the constant Reiteration of the same Arguments for the Continuance of a *standing Army*, from Time to Time, make it necessary to repeat the same Antidotes against them, by inculcating into the Minds of the People where their *real Strength and Security* consist.

I will begin with our *maritime Force* ; by which I mean our *commercial Navigation*, with all the vast Advantages arising from it, as well as our *Ships of War*.

I suppose it will not be deny'd that We are at present possess'd of the finest Navy, both for Number and Strength, in the whole World ; perhaps, I might add a much finer one than *England* itself could ever boast of before, in any Age ; unless it hath been suffer'd to decline very lately ; which I hope We have no Reason to suppose, or believe.

It will likewise be allow'd that no Country excels us in the Skill, Bravery and Hardiness of our *Seamen*. This is amply confess'd by the Conduct of all Nations, even the worst of our Enemies, who have left no Arts untry'd to delude Them into their Service ; and I heartily wish They had not succeeded so well in their Attempts.

Our principal Interest therefore consists in maintaining a *strong naval Power*, and encouraging an *extended Commerce*. These *two Points* have a mutual and necessary Dependence on each other ; for as *Trade* cannot be carry'd to any great Height, in the present Circumstances of Affairs, without a sufficient Power to protect it against all our Enemies and Competitors ; so neither is it possible for us to keep up *such a Power*, without the Advantages of a *large and flourishing Trade*.

In the next Place, a strict Regulation ought to be observed in the Management of our *Marine* ; by making a just Disposition of *naval Preferments* ; and giving
our

our *Sailors* all possible Encouragement to continue in our Service, by *good Usage*, *regular Payment*, and prohibiting their Officers from defrauding Them of their *legal Rights*.

The common Method of manning our Fleets by *Impressing* is another Point, which deserves particular Notice. I am verily persuaded, for my own Part, that this violent Way of proceeding hath thinn'd our Fleets, and tempted our Mariners to enter into *foreign Service*, more than any Thing else; unless it be *pinching their Bellies*, and *cheating them of their just Dues*; two Hardships, which a *brave English Sailor* can never forgive; and which ought, indeed, to be severely punish'd. I don't know how far this Practice of *Impressing* may be authorized by *Custom* and *long Usage*; but it is so far from being warranted by any *Law*, as far as I can find, that it seems inconsistent with *Magna Charta* itself, and the common Rights of all *Englishmen* establish'd by it. Sure I am, that it carries a very arbitrary Air, and looks more like a *Turkish* than an *English* Custom, to see an industrious poor Man seized in the Streets, or upon the Water, by a Gang of Ruffians, and dragg'd away, like a Felon, from his Business and his Family, against his Consent, and without any Conviction of Guilt, by a *lawful Trial of his Countrymen*. It is likewise of very pernicious Consequence to *Trade* and *Merchandize*, as well as prejudicial to the Service of our Navy.——But This is so copious a Subject, that I must defer the farther Examination of it to some other Opportunity, and shall now proceed to the Point in Hand.

Whilst we are able to keep up such a *naval Power* in its full Vigour, by employing it in the Protection, Encouragement and Extension of our *Commerce*, by which only it can be supported, we shall easily maintain the *Sovereignty of the Seas*; and whilst We continue Masters of *that Element*, we may safely despise any Invasions, or Attempts from abroad. It is this *maritime Force*,
commercial

commercial as well as military, and not the Number of our regular Troops (as the honourable Gentleman is pleas'd to assert) by which every State measures our Strength, and on which our Influence and Credit, in the publick Negotiations of Europe, must intirely depend.

But we are told by Mr. *Walsingham*, that there can be no absolute Dependence on a naval Force, to oppose, or defeat an Invasion of this Island.——Did any Writer ever assert, that *We* can absolutely depend on a naval Force; or will any Body pretend to say that there is any absolute Dependence on a standing Army; or on both an Army and a Fleet; or, indeed, on any human Security whatsoever; as We found, to our Benefit, at the late glorious Revolution? Armies may revolt of their own Accord; or be corrupted; or surprized; or posted in wrong Places; or drawn into Ambuscades; besides other Accidents and Contingences of the like Nature, which are common to Armies, as well as Fleets. But what We assert is, that *England*, as an Island, may depend with infinitely more Security on a Fleet than a standing Army. This is undoubtedly true; and This is sufficient for our present Purpose.

We know, says He, *that the same Wind, which brings the Invader upon our Coasts, will often scut up our Fleets in our own Harbours.*——To illustrate This, He adds the following Instance, by Way of Question.——*Did not King James the second's Fleet be Wind-bound in the Mouth of the Thames, when the Prince of Orange sail'd by in his Passage to Torbay, where He landed?*

This is the old stale Topick, which hath been constantly trump't up to shew the Necessity of a standing Army, in Times of Peace, from the right honourable Author of the *BALLANCING LETTER*, in King *William's* Reign, down to another right honourable Gentleman and his Advocates, at present. But it hath been so often answer'd, in the strongest and clearest Manner, that I shall contract my Observations upon it into as short a Compass as possible.

One

One would be inclined to think, from this Way of Reasoning, that a *naval Armament*, sufficient to conquer *England*, could be equipp'd all on a sudden and in the Dark, without giving us, or any of our Allies, the least Alarm; whereas nobody can be ignorant that the necessary Preparations for such an Enterprize take up a great deal of Time, and require such a Number of Ships, both for Transports and Convoys, that all *Europe* must be fast asleep, if it should pass unobserved. It is well known that the *Spanish Armada* (at that Time the Terror of the whole World) consisted of but *eighteen thousand Men*; and it is still fresh in our Memory that King *William* brought over but *fourteen thousand*, in six or seven hundred Ships; so that nothing but the most egregious Indolence, or even Sottishness, can ever expose us to such an Attempt, without some Warning and Time for Defence.

This seems to have been the Case of the late King *James*; who, very happily for us, paid no Regard to all the repeated Advices from *France*, concerning the Prince of *Orange's* Design, and could not be induced to believe it, till the *Prince* declared his Intentions himself, and was preparing to set sail from *Holland*.

As to King *James's Fleet* lying Wind-bound in the Mouth of the *Thames*, when the Prince of *Orange* sail'd by, it hath been much doubted whether our *Deliverer* was not, at least, as much obliged to the Affections of the *Officers* and *Seamen*, who compos'd that *Fleet*, as to the *Winds*, for his Passage to *Torbay*, without any Molestation.

But however that Affair might stand, it is certain that such a Disposition might be made of our *Fleet*, upon any Apprehensions of Danger, that it would be exceedingly difficult for any *considerable Squadron* to escape us.—The *Spanish* Invasion of *Scotland*, in the last Reign, with an Army of *three hundred Men*, is so very ridiculous a Proof of our Insecurity, and the Unreasonableness of depending on a *naval Power*, that I
am

am ashamed to take any farther Notice of it. I suppose, it was mention'd only for Want of better Arguments.

But let us go farther still, and allow every Thing, which the *Advocates for standing Armies* can possibly desire. Let us suppose that some *foreign Power*, in the Interest of the *Pretender*, should conjure up a great *naval Armament*, all on a Sudden, without any Body's Notice, and find Means to steal into *England*, by the Assistance of a dark Night, or a favourable Wind. Yet I should be glad to know what They are to do, when They get here; for though They might land upon us, in such a clandestine Manner, I presume it would not be altogether so easy for Them to sculk back again, or a very difficult Matter for us to intercept their Supplies.

The Case then is thus, (as I chuse to express it in Mr. Trenchard's Words) that twenty thousand Men, of which very few can be Horse, are landed in England, without any human Probability of being supply'd from abroad.

This Army, says He, shall never march twenty Miles into the Country; for They cannot put Themselves in a marching Posture in less than a Fortnight, or three Weeks, and by that Time We may have 100,000 Militia drawn down upon Them; whereof 10,000 shall be Horse, and as many Dragoons as We please; and if this Militia does nothing else but drive the Country, cut off their Foragers and Stragglers, possess Themselves of the Defiles, and intercept Provisions, their Army must be destroy'd in a short Time.

If this Reasoning is just, in any Degree, and it was never yet answer'd what Danger can We possibly apprehend from such an Invasion, when our *Militia* is back'd with a Body of *five or six thousand regular Troops*, besides a sufficient Number to man our *Garrisons* and secure *Scotland*?

This was the Opinion of the late Duke of *Marlborough*; who declared, as I have been told, upon a very important Occasion, that He would undertake to defeat any Body of Men, which could possibly be landed upon us by Surprise, with only his own Regiment of *Guards*, two or three Regiments of *Dragoons*, and such a Train of *Artillery*, as He could easily draw out against Them; whereas They could not possibly bring any with Them of any Consequence. Besides, it ought to be consider'd that having no *fortify'd Towns* to secure Themselves, till People could come in to join Them, it would be impossible for Them to stand long against such a Force.

King *William*, indeed, found an easy Passage thro' all these Obstacles, by a wonderful Concurrence of Incidents in his Favour. Yet even all These might not have been sufficient, if the Way had not been paved for Him by that well-grounded Disaffection, which had spread itself so generally amongst all Ranks of People, not only in Town and Country, not only in the Camp, the Fleet and the Court, but amongst his Favourites, his Relations, and even his very Children themselves.

To This the Success of the *Revolution* was intirely owing; and This is a demonstrative Proof that the *Affections of the People* are a much stronger Security to the *Prince* than *Armies*, and *Fleets*, and *Ministers*, and *Riches*, with all the other Props and Scaffoldings, which are commonly made Use of to support a Throne.

But this surprizing Series of lucky Accidents in our Favour, at that Time, hath been always mention'd as little less than miraculous; and therefore nothing can be more unreasonable than to keep up a *numerous standing Army*, in order to defeat a Coincidence of Events, which never happen'd before, and perhaps may never happen again; for as We ought not to depend upon *Miracles* for our Preservation, so I hope We have done nothing to expect, or deserve such an extraordinary Interposition

terposition of Providence for our Destruction. But to return ;

Militias are the natural, the strongest and most proper Defence of *free Countries*. They have always been rely'd upon in *England* as such, till the Reign of King *Charles the second*, and were never found insufficient ; for when was *England* ever over-run by any *foreign Power*, against their own Consent, for Want of a *standing Army* ?

Sir *Robert Cotton* being consulted upon an important Occasion, in the Beginning of King *Charles the first's* Reign, gave this Advice at the Council-Table. * *There must be, to withstand a foreign Invasion, a Proportion of Sea and Land-Forces ; and it is to be consider'd that no March by Land can be of that Speed to make Head against the Landing of an Enemy. Then it follows, that there is no such Prevention as to be Master of the Sea.*

For the Land-Forces, if it were for an offensive War, the Men of less Livelyhood were best spared ; and We used formerly to make such War Purgamenta Reipublicæ, if We made no farther Purchase by it. But for the Safety of the Commonwealth, the Wisdom of all Times did never intrust the publick Cause to any other than to such as had a Portion in the publick Adventure ; and That We saw in 1588, when the Care of the Queen and of the Council did make the Body of that large Army (to oppose the Spanish Armada) no other than of the Train'd Bands ; which, with the Auxiliaries of the Realm, amounted to no less than twenty-four thousand Men. Neither were any of These drawn forth from their Country and proper Habitations before the End of May, that it might be no long Grievance to the Publick ; such Discontentments being to us a more fatal Enemy than any foreign Forces.

In the same Advice to the King, He lets Him know how the People resented his *keeping up an Army in the Winter,*

* See *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 269.

Winter, though We were then in War both with *France* and *Spain*.—The Words are these;

And the dangerous Distastes to the People are not a little improved by the unexampled Course, as They conceive, of retaining an Inland Army in Winter Season, when former Times of general Fear, as in 1588, produced none such; and makes Them, in their distracted Fears, conjecture idly that it was raised wholly to subject their Fortunes to the Will of Power rather than of Law, and to make good some farther Breach upon their Liberties and Freedoms at home, rather than to defend us from any Force abroad.

Having cited these Passages, in which such honourable mention is made of *Queen Elizabeth*, I hope the Reader will excuse one Quotation more, which contains a Story of the *same excellent Princess*, very much to our present Purpose.

When the Duke of Alençon came over to England, and for some Time had admired the Riches of the City, the Conduct of her Government, and the Magnificence of her Court, He ask'd Her, amidst so much Splendour, where were her Guards? which Question she resolv'd a few Days after, when She took Him in her Coach thro' the City, and pointing to the People, (who received Her in Crouds, with repeated Acclamations) These, said She, my Lord, are my Guards. These have their Hands, their Hearts and their Purfes always ready at my Command; and These, says the Author, were Guards indeed; who defended Her through a long and successful Reign of forty-four Years against all the Machinations of Rome, the Power of Spain, a disputed Title, and the perpetual Conspiracies of her own Popish Subjects; a Security, the Roman Emperors could not boast of, with all their Pretorian Bands, and their Eastern and Western Armies.

Give me Leave to add, that *these Guards* are attended with no Jealousies of the People, concerning their

Liberties; nor with any Complaints of *burthenfome Taxes* and *Impositions* to support them.

But to This it hath been objected, by the *honourable Gentleman* and his *Advocates*, that the *Circumstances* of Europe are intirely alter'd in this *Respect*; that formerly the *Armies* of all Nations consisted in *Militias* only; whereas, at present, there is no State in Europe, which does not keep up a *Body* of regular Forces; and therefore it is absolutely necessary for Us to do the same, for our own Security.

I have drawn up this Objection in its full Force, and will now give it a particular Reply.

In the *first Place*, I must confess, and I do it very freely, that *Militias* were originally the only *standing Force* in all Nations; but how came these *popular Guards* to be turn'd into *mercenary Armies*? I am afraid We shall find, upon Examination, that this Alteration took Place much about the same Time that other Alterations were made in the Constitution of their Government, and when most of the *free States* of Europe were converted into *absolute Monarchies*. Nay, if We enquire a little farther, I believe it will appear that, in every particular State, the Loss of *Liberty* and the Establishment of *standing Armies* have constantly gone Hand in Hand; or that one hath been immediately succeeded by the other.

I must therefore take the Liberty to observe, that This is a very bad Argument for perpetuating a *standing Army* in England, and carries the most infamous Reflection on his present Majesty's Reign.

The other Part of the Objection (*that there is no State, at present, in Europe, which does not keep up a Body* of regular Forces,) I take to be false; or at least so, in some Degree; for are there no Instances of any Countries, now in Europe, where *Militias* are intrusted with the Safeguard of the Community? — Even in Holland itself (though situated on the Continent, near powerful Neighbours) are not the *Inland* and *Trading*

Trading Towns defended by the *Burghers* themselves; and is not This the Case of the *Swiss Cantons*, as well as of several free States in *Italy* and *Germany*?

But supposing there were no such Instances at present, and that *mercenary Armies* were grown-fashionable all over *Europe*; why must We follow the Example of other Nations, without the same Reason; since the *Sea* is our Frontier, and will effectually preserve us from any sudden Insults and Incurfions? In *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, the *Spaniards* maintain'd a large *standing Army* in *Flanders*, which is as near us as *France*; and yet that *wise Princess* did not think it necessary to secure Herself, or to curb her People, with the same *mercenary Forces*, though *Philip* was her implacable Enemy, and there was a powerful Party in the Kingdom, continually plotting against her Life. Nay, even when the mighty *Armada*, compos'd of *regular Troops*, was just ready to burst upon Her, She trusted to the ancient Defence of the Kingdom, and advanced against Them at the Head of her *Train'd Bands*.—I should therefore be glad to know the Reasons why a *Militia* may not be made as capable of defending their Country now, as in *her Time*.

I would not be thought to mean that our present *untrain'd Bands* are fit for this Service, or indeed for any Service, besides furnishing the Town with a ridiculous Diversion, and cramming their Bellies, at the Expence of their industrious Fellow-Subjects. For this Reason, They have been long laid aside, for the Ease of the People, in all the Counties of *England*, except *Middlesex*; where there seems, at present, to be the least Occasion for them; and where an Intermission, for *one Year*, gave the Inhabitants Reason to hope for a continued Relief, as long as it shall be judged necessary to keep up so large a Number of *regular Forces*. But We may see, even from this Instance, how hard it is to deliver ourselves from an *Army*, of any Kind, when once

establish'd ; so just is that witty Sarcaſm of the late Mr. Gay ;

*Soldiers are perfect Devils in their Way,
When once They're raised, They're curſed hard to lay.*

But nothing can be more abſurd and contrary to Reason than to ſuppoſe *that the Militia cannot be made uſeful.*——From whence is our *preſent Army* raiſed and recruited but from the *Body of the People* ?——Are there not Multitudes ſtill left behind, made of the ſame rugged Materials ; capable of undergoing the ſame Hardſhips ; and ſearleſs to partake in the ſame Dangers ? Is the requiſite Knowledge and Art of a *common Soldier* ſo very hard to be attain'd ; or does the calling a Man by a *different Name*, and clapping a *red Coat* upon his Back make ſuch a wonderful Change in his Conſtitution ?——May not a great Part of the *preſent Army*, when diſbanded, and even ſome of the *Officers*, be incorporated into the *Militia* ; and will They loſe any Part of their Courage, or their Skill by ſuch an Alteration ?——But it is ridiculous to propoſe any *Scheme*, of this Kind, whiſt there is ſo manifeſt a Diſinclination to the Thing itſelf ; and whiſt no Pains are ſpared to make the *Militia* contemptible, as well as uſeleſs. Whenever any *Man in Power* ſhall think fit to ſet about ſuch a Work in earneſt, and upon an *honeſt Plan*, He will not want Propoſals and Aſſiſtance enough to effect it.——God knows many Things, of a more difficult and intricate Nature, have been accompliſh'd with incredible Succeſs !

But if it ſhould be ſtill inſiſted on, that the Circumſtances of *Europe* are ſo much alter'd, as to put us on a Level with our Neighbours on the *Continent* ; if our Situation on an *Iſland* is become of ſo much leſs Security than it was a Century ago ; if our *Navy* and *Militia* are grown of little or no Uſe ; but it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the Safety of the *preſent, royal Family*,

N^o 341. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 101

to perpetuate a *numerous standing Army* in this Kingdom ; if This, I say, should be our Case ; what is to be done ? Is it not incumbent upon us, as a *free People*, to think of some *farther Regulations*, which may render *this Army* as little dangerous as possible to the *Publick*, as well as uneasy to the *Officers* themselves, by ascertaining the Road to *military Preferments*, making their *Commissions* less precarious, and their Conduct, in *other Stations*, equally independent with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects. D.



N^o 341. SATURDAY, Jan. 13, 1732-3.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



Fancy you must be somewhat fatigued with your late laborious Enquiries into *Excises* and *standing Armies* ; and that it will not be disagreeable to you to breathe a little If therefore you will accept a *Turn* from a Friend, (as some of our modern *Divines* call it) lend me your Pulpit, and I will preach a *Saturday's* Lecture for you.

We remember very well, on the Conclusion of the late Treaty of *Vienna*, how much and how loudly your *Adversaries* exulted. The Vanity of their Hearts dilated, and they triumph'd in Concert. They cry'd aloud, now Mr. *D'Anvers* must drop his Pen. Affairs are quite settled abroad ; and our *Patron* may sleep in Peace. Poor *old Caleb* will die of the Spleen, for Want of *publick Errors* to animadvert upon. You very soon satisfy'd *these Gentlemen* that They were mistaken in this Point. You convinced Them that our

domestick Affairs stood in as much Need of a strict Enquiry, and an immediate Amendment, as our late *Affairs abroad*. I am likewise afraid you must be now convinced that you have engaged yourself in an impracticable Design. — What *Herculean* Labours have you undertaken? — Where will you begin? — Where will you end? — What an *Augæan Stable* is *Corruption*? — What a deform'd Monster is a *standing Army* in a *free Country*? — What a *many-braced Hydra* is a *general Excise*? — You have attack'd all these, like *Hercules*; but, like *Hercules*, you have not vanquish'd Them — You have, like that *antient Heroe*, endeavour'd to destroy the *Centaurs*; a Sort of *marauding Tax-gatherers*; but you have not yet subdued Them — You have likewise attack'd the *Symphalides*; those unclean Birds of Prey, who eat up the *Fruits of the Earth*, and whose very Touch is *Pollution*; but you have not been able to put Them to Flight — You have also, for many Years, combated the *Lernean Dragon*; but with Grief I observe that your *Warfare* has been hitherto unsuccessful — Nay, should you be able, by unwearied Courage and Perseverance, to triumph over *these Monsters*, there are new ones springing up every Day, which even *another Hercules* would find it difficult to destroy.

I shall here drop the Allegory, and come to the Point propos'd in this Letter, by marking out one Evil, which I apprehend to be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Nation.

I profess myself, Mr. *D'Anvers*, an Enemy to *Companies*, as you have often done; That is, to all *trading Confederacies*, invested with *exclusive Powers*. I do not only look on *these Monopolies* as utterly destructive to all *free Commerce*, but as wealthy Combinations, which may prove very fatal to *Liberty*.

I would not be understood to mean, when I talk of these *incorporated Bodies*, the *honest Creditors of the Publick*; to whom I think the tenderest Regard ought

at

at all Times to be paid, as They lent their Money for the Service, and on the Faith of the Government. For this Reason, their Interest will always be consider'd; and if ever They should suffer, it will, it must be wholly owing to the wicked Management of *Those*, who have been intrusted with the Power over their Properties.

I am sorry to observe that you, *Sir*, have been too prophetic in your Remarks on this Subject; and had any Credit been given to your Predictions, They might have been of some Use to the *unhappy Proprietors*. A plain and effectual Remedy was long ago pointed out; which, if it had been then taken, might have cured what, I am afraid, is now grown a *chronical Distemper*, that will require long Time and a severe Regimen to eradicate.

You have often explain'd the evil Consequences, which must attend the Power given to the *Directors* to coin Money, in the Shape of Bonds; to enter into *obscure Projects of Trade*; to permit, perhaps, to connive at, and be Themselves concern'd with the Company's *Super-Cargoes, Factors* and *Captains*, in the Frauds and Embezzlements of their Effects.

You set out very early, even six Years ago, in explaining some Frauds in the *East-India Company*; and soon after you hinted at some others, in the Method of *buying and selling the Company's Goods*. You made some proper Observations on the Practice of putting *false Samples* on their Goods, at the publick Sales; by which Means *Those*, who were let into the Secret, made infamous Gains at the Company's Expence, and to the Prejudice of the *honest Buyer*.

Have not all these Charges against Them been since made good? — Have not some late Discoveries proved the Truth of them, even to Demonstration? — Is not the present Decline of their Trade (notwithstanding an *Excise* to support it) an evident Proof of some bad Management? — Hath it not already obliged Them to reduce

reduce their *Dividend*? — Have They not attempted to reduce it still lower? — Hath it not brought Them under the present critical Dilemma, with relation to their *Bonds*?

After This, you took Notice of the *S. S. Company*. You express'd, very early likewise, your Sentiments with Relation to the Managers of *that Corporation*. You observed that the *Affiento Trade* was a *losing Contract*; and that the *annual Ship*, which was granted to the Company as an Equivalent for it, produced no Advantages to the *Company*, whatever it might do to *Directors*, *Captains*, and *Supercargoes*; besides the general Disadvantage it brought upon our *African* and *American* Trade, occasion'd by their *Tenders*, *Sloops*, and *Factories* settled there.

You have often made it appear that this *annual Ship* had occasion'd frequent Differences between the *two Crowns*, and expos'd our *Merchants* to almost constant Depredations and Insults; the *Spaniards* being always secure from any Reprisals, by having so large a *Pledge* in their Hands.

Well, Mr. *D'Anvers*, what Treatment did you receive for all these seasonable Notices? — Was you not insult'd, and reproach'd as an Enemy to publick Credit; disaffected to the Government; a Friend to the *Spaniards*; a Disturber of the Peace; and a Forger of Scandal? — Was you not charged, by *one of their Factors*, with a very wicked Design of depriving the Company of an *honest Sub-Governor*, and the City of a *worthy Representative*; for which *He* received the Thanks of the said *honest Sub-Governor*, and *Directors*?

But hath not all you have said of *this Company* proved true? — Have not the *Directors* themselves been forced to own that They have sustain'd great Losses in *Trade*, and that *great Frauds* have been committed in the Management of it? — Were we not lately inform'd
in

in a * printed Paper, calculated for the Purposes of *certain Gentlemen*, " That it was the unhappy Case
 " of the *South-Sea Company*, that the Grant of an *annual Ship*, design'd to make Amends for the Loss,
 " which They knew must and has attended the Introduction of *Negroes*, instead of answering the End
 " for which it was granted, has proved a *losing Trade* ;
 " of which every Proprietor may be convinced by
 " inspecting the Company's Books.

" The ill Success of *this Trade* hath been attributed
 " chiefly to *two Causes* ; the frequent Reprisals, or
 " Seizures, made by the Crown of *Spain* on the Company's Effects, and the *Mismanagement*, not to say
 " worse, of the *Servants of the Company*. The *first Cause* is of such a Nature, that it cannot be remedied ; and the *Company's Trade* must always remain
 " exposed to any Difference, or Misunderstanding between the *two Crowns* ; and oftentimes the *Trade* itself occasions that Misunderstanding, which exposes
 " the Company's Effects to Seizures. As to the last Clause, *Mismanagement of Servants*, Experience
 " teaches us what to depend upon ; and whilst *Super-cargoes* and *Factors* want Estates, and *Directors* have
 " Relations to provide for, or other Views to carry on, we may flatter ourselves in vain either with
 " Redress, or Amendment.

And yet did not the *worthy Sub-Governor* himself tell us, in his Speech, some Time ago, that the Company was not *one Farthing in Disburse on Account of TRADE* ; though He had just before confess'd that the Company had sustain'd *inupportable Losses in Trade*, which obliged Them to reduce their Dividend from *Six to Four per Cent.* in order to account for the immense Load of the *Bond-Debt*, and to annihilate a considerable Part of their *Capital*, for the Payment only of *half* of it ? — Have They not acknowledged their

* See the Post Boy, Nov. 22, 1732.

Losses in the *Greenland Trade*? —Have They not given it up? —Have not *some Persons* shewn a manifest Inclination likewise to give up Part of the *American Trade*; even *that Part* of it, which alone was pretend- ed to be profitable?

Thus stands, at present, the Case of these *two great Companies*; and the *Proprietors* have the Mortification to find the Truth of your Observations confirm'd by the Confession of their *Directors* themselves. *One of these Societies* made some Applications to *Parliament* last Session, which will probably bring Them there again; and We have been told that the *other* hath Thoughts of applying there for some Indulgence, with- out which They find it impossible to continue their Trade with Advantage.

The Case of the *Charitable Corporation* is likewise still depending before that *august Assembly*; and the Gentlemen of the *York Buildings Company* seem'd re- solved to seek Relief, or Justice, in the same Place; so that our *Representatives* would have Business enough to employ their Thoughts this Session, though They had no *standing Armies*, or *Excises* to encounter.

I shall conclude with an Observation, which You have often made, and hath been too fully verify'd in several Instances; *viz. that such Corporations are not only destructive of Trade, dangerous to Liberty, and prejudicial to the Publick in general; but, by Fraud and Mismanagement, are commonly attended with great Losses to the Proprietors Themselves.*

D. R.

I am, SIR, &c.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

YOUR late Discourses on *standing Armies* and the *natural Strength of England* put me in Mind of the following beautiful Passage in *Shakespeare*; which

which I think deserves a Place in your Paper, at this Juncture. It is the Speech of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Launcester*; representing the Grievances of the Nation, under one of our most unhappy Princes. I recommend it to your serious Consideration, and am,
S I R, &c. PHILELEUTHERUS,

This royal Throne of Kings, this scepter'd Isle,
This Earth of Majesty, this Seat of *Mars*,
This other *Eden*, demy Paradiſe,
This Fortrefſ, built by Nature for herſelf
Againſt Infection, and the Hand of *War*,
This happy Breed of Men, this little World,
This precious Stone, ſet in the *Silver Sea*,
Which ſerves it in the Office of a *Wall*,
Or, as a *Moat*, deſenſive to a Houſe,
Againſt the Envy of leſs happier Lands;
This bleſſed Plot, this Earth, this Realm, this ENG-

[LAND;
This Nurſe, this teeming Womb of royal Kings,
Fear'd for their Breed and famous for their Birth,
This Land of ſuch dear Souls, this *dear, dear Land*,
Dear for her Reputation through the World,
Is now *Leaſed out*; — I dyc pronouncing it,
Like to a Tenement, or pelting Farm.

ENGLAND, bound in with the triumphant Sea,
Whoſe rocky Shore beats back the envious Surge
Of wat'ry *NEPTUNE*, is now bound in with Shame,
With *inky Blots*, and *rotten Parchment BONDS*; —
That ENGLAND, that was wont to conquer *others*,
Hath made a ſhameful Conqueſt of *ITSELF*.

N. *Shakeſpeare's Rich. II. Act II. Scene I.*



SATURDAY,

N^o 342. SATURDAY, Jan. 20, 1732-3.

HAVING taken Notice of a Pamphlet, intitled *Remarks on the horrible Oppressions, Insolencies and unjustifiable Partialities of the COMMISSIONERS OF EXCISE*, and quoted several Cases out of it, in the second Part of my *Argument against EXCISES*, publish'd last Monday, I fancy the Reader will not be displeased with some farther Extracts from the same Piece, which is now become very scarce. I shall therefore present Him with the *Dedication*, and so much of the *Discourse* itself, as relates to the *Argument in general*.

Preface to the COMMONS of England, in Parliament assembled.

Right Honourable,

AS your Assembly is the Source and Original of legislative Authority, so you are allow'd to be the only sovereign Expositors of those Laws you make.

When the People of England find Themselves oppress'd and crush'd by the partial and corrupt Interpretations of our Laws; and, by Turns and far-fetch'd Devices of designing Men, robb'd and plunder'd on Pretence of legal Authority; to You They have Recourse, farther to explain and expressly to declare the true Meaning and Design of the Laws, by which They are so abus'd.

When, by a long-since dormant Law, you order'd that the Brewers and Distillers, in Case of a small Penalty of 5 l. and no more, as to the Excise, upon certain Mis-carriages, when committed, should be decisively heard by Commissioners,

Commissioners, &c. it cannot be imagin'd your Honours ever design'd to condemn the Brewers and Distillers to the Loss of their native Privileges, as Englishmen; and that They, of all Men in England, should alone be so unhappy as not to be thought worthy of their Share in the Magna Charta of England, viz. to be try'd by their Peers.

This Consideration, as it is hoped it will move your Honours to redress their intolerable Pressures, under the present Tyranny of the Commissioners of Excise; so They believe it will be yet more moving to your Honours, when you shall please to reflect, that the said Penalties being risen, by sundry subsequent Acts and additional Clauses to the Laws of Excise, from 5 l. to immense Sums; a Brewer, or Distiller, may now come to forfeit 2 or 300 l. per Diem; and that your Honours will agree, it is of much more Consequence that They should be heard, in such Cases, before just and indifferent Judges, and be try'd, as is the undoubted Right of Englishmen, by their Peers.

The following Sheets will shew your Honours some sad Examples of the Subject ruin'd and injured by the Tyranny and Injustice of Commissioners, vested with this exorbitant Power; which will, without Question, move your Honours to put such Restraints upon Them, that the like destructive Measures may not be taken for the future.

The Brewers and Distillers are a People, from whose Industry and Stock in Trade the greatest Branch, perhaps, of any single Revenue in Europe, is raised; and it is humbly hoped, This should rather entitle Them to the Care and Tenderness of the Government, than reduce Them to a Condition, in which their Property should be less safe, and their Principles more streighten'd than other Men. All which is humbly represented to your Honours and, together with the following Sheets, humbly submitted to your Censure and Determination.

REMARKS on the horrible Oppressions, Insolencies,
and unjustifiable Partialities of the COMMISSIONERS OF THE EXCISE.

“ **I**T is remarkable of *England*, and I mention it to
“ the Honour of *free-born Nations* in general, that
“ no People in the World pay their *Taxes* with more
“ Freedom and Chearfulness.

“ But *two Things* are always required by Them, in
“ the Matter of *publick Taxing*; which, if once They
“ are satisfy'd in, They look no farther.

“ 1. *That they are legally enacted.*

“ 2. *Equally collected.*

“ To have a *Tax*, or *Duty*, legally enacted, re-
“ quires but *one establish'd Qualification*, known and
“ understood by all Men; *viz.* that it be consented
“ to in *Parliament*; pass'd into an Act by the *Lords*
“ and *Commons*, duly assembled; and obtain the *royal*
“ *Assent*, in due Form. When thus it becomes a *Law*,
“ no *Englishman* will open his Mouth, but immedi-
“ ately opens his Purse, and frankly parts with his
“ Money.

“ It is no Part of my Business here to descend to
“ Particulars; or to shew how many *Taxes*, perhaps,
“ more in Proportion than any Nation in the World,
“ are thus rais'd in this Kingdom, and how chearfully
“ paid by the People; or what Mischiefs have attend-
“ ed the several Attempts to raise Money by *illegal*
“ and *exotick Methods*; the most immediate Handle
“ of *civil Tyranny*; odious to, and particularly watch'd
“ against by the People of *England*; and whenever
“ impos'd, or attempted to be so, always vigorously
“ oppos'd, and more than once to the Destruction
“ of the *Contrivers*.

“ Nor had I mention'd it here, but for this Reason;
“ that if the People of *England* have always been,
“ and still are so jealous of *this particular Privilege*,
“ that

“ that They cannot be *tax'd* but by their *own Con-*
 “ *sent in Parliament*; and the highest Invaders of
 “ *this Privilege* have been ruin'd by it; what ought
 “ They to expect from the same Resentment, who levy
 “ *Taxes*, when legally given, different from the true
 “ Intent and Design of the *Law granting*?

“ *These* raise Money without Consent of Parlia-
 “ ment, in the worst and most destructive Manner,
 “ and ought to look back to the *Spencers* and *Gave-*
 “ *sons* of old, who abused the *Law*, and the Favour
 “ of their *Prince*, in *illegal Extortions*, *Briberies* and
 “ *Corruptions*, and sell a Sacrifice to the Nation's *Ju-*
 “ *stice*; and though, indeed, the Cases differ, yet in
 “ This they agree; *that the Subject was both Ways*
 “ *plunder'd and rifled*, under Pretence and by the Forms
 “ of Law.

“ The *Extortions*, *Oppressions* and *Partialities* now
 “ before us, as they are not inferior to any, that
 “ have gone before them, either in the *Villany* of
 “ *the Practice*, or the *Magnitude of the Wrong*; so
 “ they have this more fatal Disaster in them, that the
 “ injured Subject is lock'd up by *Law*, without *Ap-*
 “ *peal*, to be try'd, judg'd and condemn'd by the
 “ very *Parties, who confederate against Him*; and
 “ when He *appeals from Them*, he only *appeals to*
 “ *Them*; for he finds his *Adversaries* upon the *Etch*
 “ *of Appeal*, ready and, God knows, how empower'd,
 “ to sway and determine the *Cause*, as They please.

“ The *Evidence*, in these *mock Trials*, is always the
 “ *Person*, that contrives the *Accusation*; who, having
 “ form'd the Plot against an *innocent Man*, obtains
 “ half the Spoil for *Swearing*.

“ The Case is then brought before the *Commis-*
 “ *ners*; who, in Concert and Confederacy with the
 “ *indigent Wretch* that sweats, hear, judge and try
 “ the Cause before-hand, and condemn, or acquit, as
 “ the *Market* can be made.

“ Thus no Man's Estate is safe ; but the Property
 “ and Industry of the Subject is destroy'd by *infinite*
 “ *Corruptions, Partialities and abominable Practices ;*
 “ to the Shame and Reproach of *Justice ;* Scandal of
 “ a *well-order'd Government ;* encouraging all Sorts of
 “ *Briberies and Perjuries ;* and the Ruin of a Multi-
 “ tude of *honest Families,* that fall into the merciless
 “ Hands of *lawless Thieves and Invaders.*

“ And, what is still more wonderful, all This is
 “ practis'd in the Time, under the Authority, and in
 “ the Name of a *Government* and a *Queen,* that de-
 “ fires none of her Subjects should be oppress'd. *Her*
 “ *Majesty* denies Justice to no Man ; oppresses no
 “ Man ; nor covets any Man's Property ; much less
 “ would permit any Subject, commission'd by *her*
 “ *Authority,* to oppress his Fellow Subjects. No In-
 “ jury can be committed in *England,* but, if the
 “ Government be rightly inform'd of it, will obtain
 “ Redress ; and all due Encouragement is given to
 “ reasonable Complaints.

“ These Things, consider'd, have oblig'd the *Au-*
 “ *thor of this Tract* to prepare these Sheets for pub-
 “ lick View ; in which the following Particulars shall
 “ be faithfully pursued and impartially related ; and I
 “ hope the extraordinary Consequence of this Publica-
 “ tion to the Nation, in the awakening Justice to pu-
 “ nish *unheard-of Villanies,* and the protecting *inno-*
 “ *cent Families* from the *Rapine and Robberies,* which
 “ are thus acted without Conscience, or Principles,
 “ will be a sufficient Justification of this Attempt.

“ I take the Liberty to assure the Perions concern'd,
 “ that here is no *personal,* or *Party Cause* pursued ;
 “ the *Commissioners of the Excise,* and every one of
 “ their *Officers,* are perfectly unknown to the *Author*
 “ of *This ;* neither hath He any Demand from Them ;
 “ or is directly, or indirectly, concern'd in, or a Suf-
 “ ferer by any of their *Oppressions ;* but as the daily
 “ Clamours and Complaints of the People, ruin'd and
 “ injured

“ injured by their *barbarous* and *unheard-of Violence*,
 “ fill our Streets; expose the Justice of our Govern-
 “ ment; and threaten us with worse Consequencs
 “ from the Example; He has concern’d himself to en-
 “ quire into the Particulars; which He finds so unu-
 “ sually *bad*, so universally *oppressive*; and so notori-
 “ ously *partial* and *unjust*; that, in order to imme-
 “ diate Redress of the Persons now suffering, and more
 “ especially in order to prevent the growing Tyranny
 “ of *unreasonable People*, who make Use of the Power
 “ granted Them, to rob and ruin the Subject, I
 “ thought it a special Service to the Publick to lay
 “ this Matter open.

“ And here I shall necessarily examine *two Things*.

“ 1. Whether there is not an *exorbitant Power*,
 “ *arbitrary*, and in its Nature *illegal*, tho’ literally
 “ otherwise, accidentally and perhaps unwarily put
 “ into the Hands of the *Commissioners of the Excise*.

“ 2. Whether They have not made Use of *that*
 “ *Power* to different Purpo’s, from the true Intent of
 “ the *Laws*, from whence They derive it?

“ If, in this Enquiry, *Bribery*, *Corruption*, and
 “ *Partiality* appear fairly chargeable upon both *Masters*
 “ and *Servants*, *Commissioners* and *Officers*, in their
 “ executing the *Laws of Excise*; if Thousands of
 “ People appear *injured* and *oppress’d*; the *Trade itself*
 “ *discouraged* and the *publick Duties lessen’d*; flourish-
 “ ing Families ruin’d, and the Property of the *English*
 “ Subject invaded; the *Gentlemen*, whose Guilt will
 “ make Them appear concern’d, must blush for Them-
 “ selves. They can have no Body to blame, that
 “ *Grievances*, of this Nature, at last reach the Ears of
 “ *Those*, in whose Power only it is to redress them.

“ 1. I am to enquire, whether there is not an *exor-*
 “ *bitant Power*, *arbitrary* and in its Nature *illegal*,
 “ tho’ literally otherwise, accidentally and perhaps
 “ unwarily put into the Hands of the *Commissioners of*
 “ *Excise*.

“ And This will be best inquired into, by considering briefly the *Laws of England*, in their general Design; the *Nature* and *Reason* of them.

“ The general Design of *Law* is to prevent *Oppressions* of all Sorts, *Injustice* and *unfair Usage*, on either Hand; to hold the *Scale of Power*, and judge between the *strong* and the *weak*. The *Nature* and *Reason* of *Law* is regulating the Government of a People, and bringing Methods of Rule to a stated, known and publick Center; that if the *Guilty* offend, the *Governors* know what to inflict; the *Govern’d* what to expect.

“ Now our *English Laws* have nothing more admirable in them than the reducing the Government of Mankind to an *Equality*, and such a *Scale of Justice*, mingled with *Right* and *Liberty*, as no one may have Cause to complain of being *oppress’d*, nor any Branch, or Part of the *Constitution* be entrusted with more *Power* than is proper; or with *so much Power*, as to enable Them to *oppose*, or *injure another*.

“ Among other of the native Branches of *Justice*, for which our *English Laws* are famous, and on the Foot of which *this Nation* has risen up to such a Degree of Prosperity and Riche, These are some.

“ I. That every *Englishman*, offending or trespassing, shall have a *fair Trial*, and shall be judged by his *Peers*, and not otherwise.

“ II. That *indifferent Judges* shall try the Cause between the *Prince* and the *Subject*, and not *Parties concern’d*.

“ III. That no Man shall be admitted as *Evidence* in a Case, where He shall be *Gainer* by the *Condemnation* of the Person He witnesses against.

“ I could quote innumerable Statutes and parallel Cases, to prove This. The *first* is a Branch of *Magna Charta*, and the known Right of the People
“ of

“ of *England*, purchas’d with their Blood and Treasure,
 “ and carefully preserv’d by our Ancestors to us their
 “ Posterity.

“ The *second* and *third* being founded in *Reason*,
 “ and daily found in the Usage of the *Law*, and com-
 “ mon Practice of *Courts*, needs no Recital.

“ Now if these *three known Maxims of the Law* are
 “ invaded, or intrench’d upon, in the present Case ;
 “ I leave it to all indifferent People to judge whether
 “ the *Commissioners of Excise* are not vested with an
 “ *exorbitant Power*, illegal in its own Nature, and
 “ contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the *English*
 “ *Nation*.

“ That *this Power* is vested in Them by *Parliament*,
 “ and consequently is *literally legal*, I do not deny ; but
 “ then I desire to examine how it came to be so ; and
 “ how it is improved by the *Commissioners*. And This,
 “ in order humbly to represent in its Season to that
 “ *honourable Assembly*, and shew Them that the Power
 “ thus deputed is, by *these Abuses*, become so *exorbi-*
 “ *tant*, as it is well worth their *Honour’s* Enquiry,
 “ whether it is not injurious to the *Subject* and too
 “ much Power to be entrusted or committed to *any*
 “ *Set of Men* less than a *Parliamentary Assembly*.

“ It is true the *Act*, that first left the Determina-
 “ tion of Offences against the *Laws of Excise* to the
 “ *Commissioners*, has now remain’d for a considerable
 “ Time ; that is to say, in the 12th of *Charles II.*
 “ and is intitled, *An Act to take away the Courts of*
 “ *Wards and Liveries*, &c.

“ And the several *Acts* since made, *viz.* for *additio-*
 “ *nal Duties*, *Penalties*, and *Forfeitures*, having all
 “ had Reference back to *that Act*, have seem’d too
 “ much to depend upon the Justice and Equality of
 “ that *first Law*, and thereby left the *Delinquent* to
 “ the Mercy of his *Accuser*, and to the corrupt Sen-
 “ tence of an *arbitrary Enemy*, too often, as there is
 “ good

116 *The CRAFTSMAN.* N^o 342.

“ good Cause to fear, interested in the Sentence He
“ passes.

“ Now, as when the *Act* was first pass’d, the Se-
“ verity of it was not much regarded, the *Penalties* be-
“ ing *small*, and not exceeding 5 *l.* for any Offence,
“ so it is humbly conceived had *that Parliament*
“ thought fit at that Time, to have laid the *severe*
“ *Penalties* of 200, 100, 50 or 20 *l.* and the *other*
“ *various Forfeitures*, by which *one Man* may, in his
“ common Way of Trade, become liable to the For-
“ feiture of 1000 *l. per Week*; it is humbly submitted
“ to the publick Judgment, whether I am too pre-
“ suming, if I say it is very likely the *Parliament*
“ would have been very cautious in the Matter,
“ and have consider’d it again and again, before They
“ gave *such exorbitant absolute Powers to Men in Places*,
“ and *Court-Commissioners*; who if They are not, are
“ however to be suppos’d capable of being, *mercenary*
“ and *tyrannical*.

“ *This Law* therefore is, in its Execution and Con-
“ struction, contrary to the *native Right of Englishmen*,
“ and I hope cannot but recommend itself for *some*
“ *Amendment*, if *not a Repeal*, to the Consideration
“ of an *English Parliament*; since it cannot but be
“ thought hard, that the *Distillers and Brewers*, who
“ pay the *most Taxes*, to the general Support and
“ carrying on the *War*, should be the only People,
“ who must not enjoy the *common Privileges of English-*
“ *men*, and whose Offences must be try’d different
“ Ways from all the rest of the *freeborn People of this*
“ *Nation*.

“ I know it will be objected here, that the *Parlia-*
“ *ment* have taken Care of the Subjects Rights in this
“ Case, by establishing *Commissioners of Appeal*, where
“ the Subject is to have Redress.

“ Now, though it is true, in the Nature of the
“ Thing, that to erect a *Court of Appeal*, has a very
“ great

“ great Face of Justice in it ; and no Question the *Parliament*, who establish’d that Part of it, thought
 “ They had provided for all the Evils, that could befall the injured Subject.

“ Yet, when the Conduct and, indeed, the Capacity of *these Commissioners of Appeal* comes to be examined ; when the Concert between *Them* and the *Persons appeal’d from* comes to appear ; how little Redress They give, in Cases of *notorious Injury* and *Abuse of the Subject* ; how tedious, chargeable, litigious, and fruitless *these Appeals* are ; how often the *Appellant* finds his Adversaries, the *Commissioners*, sitting on the *Bench* with the *Commissioners of Appeal* ; hearing the Cause again ; commanding the Ear of the *Judges of Appeal* ; influencing and byassing, and too much governing their Opinions ; when once the unheard-of Crimes of *these pretended Judges* comes to Light, and the black List of their *partial and fraudulent Methods* shall appear ; it will easily convince our *Legislators*, that to make *Commissioners of Appeals*, in such a Manner, &c. to *such People*, is to commit the *suffering Subject* to the Mercy of his *exorbitant Enemy* ; and I believe I may offer, in the Name of the *Brewers and Distillers in London*, that They would give 20,000 *l.* to have a *fair Appeal to indifferent Judges* ; Men of Knowledge in the Law, and Conscience in Practice ; and to have all the Causes heard again before Them, for which They have been barbarously and unjustly sentenced and fined, by the mercenary and tyrannical Proceedings of the *present Commissioners*.

“ If these Things are true, as there is too much Reason to believe they are, and of which any Man is left to judge, when He reads the *historical Collections of Matter of Fact*, at the End of this Treatise, it cannot but be own’d it is high Time to lay
 “ This before the *Parliament of England* ; where *such*
 “ Grievances

“ *Grievances* as These never want Redress, and the
 “ *injured Subject* cannot fail of being impartially heard
 “ and relieved.

“ It follows to enquire, whether *these Commissioners*
 “ have not applied *this Power*, vested in Them by
 “ the Law, to different Purposes from the true In-
 “ tent, &c.

“ This will in nothing better appear than in the
 “ *five Heads of Articles*, exhibited to the PARLIA-
 “ MENT, in a Paper printed by the *Distillers*, and
 “ presented to the Members with their Petition; and
 “ which are as follows;

“ 1. *Informations* being exhibited, unknown to the
 “ Persons inform’d against, though pretended Summons
 “ have been sent, frequently are suffer’d to lye several
 “ Years unpursued, till the *Servants and Witnesses*, by
 “ which the *Persons accused* might defend Themselves,
 “ are gone from Them, or dead, or have forgot the
 “ Particulars.

“ 2. On the other Hand, Complaints made by the
 “ *Distillers*, for the Injuries and Outrages of their
 “ *Officers*, have been so long left unheard, till They
 “ have not been able to make out the Particulars, for
 “ the same Reasons as in the Head above.

“ 3. That They arbitrarily take upon Them to de-
 “ termine *Property*, and refusing the *Duty*, when law-
 “ fully tender’d by the *right Owners*, and *Persons*,
 “ from whom it is legally and only due, demand it
 “ of *Others*, wholly unconcern’d and pretend to *Forfeit-
 “ tures* for the Default.

“ 4. That when They have been summoned to
 “ *Trials*, on either *Informations*, or *Complaints*, and
 “ have duly attended with *Council* and *Witnesses*,
 “ They have been put off, without Reason given,
 “ from Time to Time, on purpose to tire Them out
 “ with the *Charge* and *Expence of Attendance*.

“ 5. That sundry Persons have been condemn’d and
 “ *fined* by the arbitrary Sentence of the *Commissioners*;
 “ and,

“ and, at other Times, have been *acquitted* for the
 “ *same Kind of Fact*, which *To-day* is, and *To-morrow*
 “ is not, or in *this Person* is, and in *another Person* is
 “ not a Crime, according to the Pleasure of the *Com-*
 “ *missioners*; by which Means innocent Men are led
 “ into Crimes, by the Allowance of those very Men,
 “ who afterwards *censure* and *condemn* what They
 “ before *approved*; and no Man can know when He
 “ acts safely and when not.

The *Author* then proceeds to the particular Cases of
 Mr. Fuller and Mr. Mackley; of which I have given
 some Account in * *the second Part of my Argument a-*
gainst EXCISES. D.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THE best Way to prove the Strength of an Ar-
 gument, is by reducing it to *logical Rules*. I
 have try'd this Experiment on the *eloquent Speech*,
 publish'd in the *Free-Briton* of the 4th Instant, and
 attributed by Mr. *Walsingham* to a *very great and*
honourable Person; but, upon Trial, I cannot reconcile
 his Reasonings to any *Mode*, or *Figure*, taught in the
 Schools. The whole Speech consists of the following
unconsequential Propositions, or *Anti-Syllogisms*; viz.

1. The present Question is not about *standing Armies*,
 which are certainly very dangerous, but only about al-
 lowing his Majesty a Land-Force of *seventeen thousand*
Men; therefore Gentlemen ought not to insist on the
 Danger of *standing Armies*.
2. Next Year, Gentlemen may vote *against a stand-*
ing Army; therefore They ought to vote *for it*, this
 Year.
3. If the *Peace* is not firm at the Bottom, and our

* See the Appendix to this Volume.

Wounds are only skinn'd over, (as *some Gentlemen* argued the first Day of the Session) We are not out of Danger; therefore it is necessary to keep up a *standing Army*.

4. But if the *Peace is establish'd on the most solid Foundations,* (as I say) *there is Leisure for AMBITION to look round;* therefore a *standing Army* is still more necessary at this Time, than when *the Affairs of Europe were unsettled.*

5. By the Reduction propos'd We shall *save but a little Money;* therefore We ought to *save none at all..*

6. The *Jacobites* are against a *standing Army,* and a *Popish Solicitor* happen'd to be furnish'd with some Arguments upon *that Subject;* therefore the *Parliament of Great Britain* ought most certainly to vote for one.

I am, Sir, your Reader and Friend,

C.

OLD HAMPDEN.



N^o 343. SATURDAY, Jan. 27, 1732-3.



NOTHING gives Me greater Satisfaction, upon reviewing the Course of *these Papers*, for six Years past, than that Uniformity of Principles, which runs through them from first to last. This hath been so exactly preserved in all our Discourses upon *Liberty, Trade, Companies, Colonies, Alliances, Treaties, Taxes, standing Armies, and other great Points,* which have been occasionally made the Subjects of *these Papers*, that whoever will give Himself the Trouble of looking back upon them, will find the same *general Doctrines* constantly supported by the same *Kind of Reasonings*, without any inconsistent Deviations, to serve a particular Turn.

The greatest Part of our Writings hath been now collected together for almost *two Years*, and submitted in

in one View to publick Examination; yet the most critical of our *Adversaries* have not been able, with all their Industry, to fix one material Inconsistency upon us in so voluminous a Work, compos'd by different Hands, publish'd at different Times, and written upon different Occasions. They have, indeed, attempted to do something of this Kind, by picking out here and there a Passage, and putting their own wild Interpretations upon it, without any Regard to the manifest Sense of the *Author*, or the *Occasion*, upon which it was written. This hath very lately been their Method of Reasoning, with Relation to *Excises* and *standing Armies*. Nay, They have even been obliged to leave out *those Words*, upon which the *chief Strife* was evidently laid, in order to serve their Purpose. But such Cavils as These, built on false Quotations, and a partial State of the Question, cannot in the least affect a long Train of *general Arguments*, in several regular Discourses, profess'dly written on the same Subject.

On the other Hand, the Writings of *these Gentlemen* are one continued Series of *Inconsistencies* and *Contradictions*, both as to Principle and Argument, in almost every Point, which hath fallen under Debate. This hath been so often demonstrat'd, by particular Instances, that I will not tire the Reader with any Repetitions, but proceed to the immediate Design of this Paper; viz. to prove our own Consistency with Regard to *Excises*; and This will best appear by a short Review of what hath pass'd on *that Subject*, from our first Appearance in Publick to the present Time.

When I charge the *ministerial Writers* with an eternal Round of Inconsistencies and Contradictions, I mean *those learned Advocates in ordinary*, who are kept upon constant Duty, and station'd in the *weekly Papers*; for I must do one Gentleman (who may be properly styl'd a *ministerial Writer*) the Justice to acknowledge that He seems to be very consistent with Himself; I mean the Author of a famous Treatise, intitled, an

Essay on the publick Debts of this Kingdom, &c. printed in the Year 1726. The Drift of *this Book* was to prove that the Lands, Estates, Expence, or COMMERCE of Great Britain will yet easily admit of farther Duties, sufficient to furnish new Funds, to answer the Interest of such Sums as any publick Occassions, that He can represent to Himself, can call for. Having laid down this honest Position, He proceeds to shew that it is more eligible to provide for the current Expences of the Government by Duties on Home-Consumption, alias *Excises*, than by the usual Method of a *Tax upon Land*. His Words are these. Upon enumerating the several Duties, which at different Times have been provided, to answer the Demands of the publick Creditors, it will appear that the greatest Part of them (whether collected by Custom, or Excise) have been laid upon Commodities in general Use and Consumption, amongst that Part of the Inhabitants of this Country, whose Circumstances will easily admit of the Expence. — In this Way, says He, the publick Expence is least sensibly felt by Those, who contribute towards it; every Person being voluntary in his Expence, and gratifying Himself, whilst He is contributing from his Estate to the Expence of the Government.

For this Reason, He recommends the Continuance of our present Duties on Commodities, even after the publick Debts are paid, as a *standing Fund*, to supply the ordinary Expences of the Government, instead of a *Land Tax from Year to Year*. Nay, He declares, in the Fullness of his Heart upon this Occasion, that He hath no Objection to any new Burthen, or any VARIATION in the present Burthen, in order to accomplish so great and desirable a Work.

In this Manner did He chalk out the Plan, above fix Years ago, upon which the present Scheme seems to be built, and all the late Reasonings, in Favour of it, have been founded; for what have the ministerial Writers said more, on this Subject, than that the Nation is still
able

able to bear *farther Duties* and *new Funds*; that *Excises* are the most equitable Methods of raising Money upon the People, as every Man's Expences are *voluntary*; and therefore that they ought to be perpetuated and increased, in Preference to any *other Kind of Taxation*?

If therefore Report says true, that the *Essay-writer* hath had any Share in this honourable Work, either by concerting the *Scheme* itself, or by drawing up the necessary Materials for putting it in Execution; it must be acknowledged that He hath acted a very *consistent Part*, and what might be reasonably expected from One, who had long ago laid so hopeful a Foundation. He seems, indeed, to have taken the Hint from the *worthy Projector of the INLAND DUTIES upon Coffee, Tea and Chocolate*, who got the Start of Him a Year or two before; but as it must be confess'd that He hath made some considerable Improvements on the original Plan, I think They ought to divide the Honour of *this Project* between Them.

At the same Time, I hope the Reader will do Me the Justice to remember that I was always of a different Opinion from *these Gentlemen*; particularly the *Author of the Essay*; which was the *first new Piece*, that fell under my Animadversion, after the *Craftsman* appear'd in Publick. A long Controversy ensued upon *that Subject*, both within Doors and without; in which a *certain honourable Gentleman* received a very remarkable Defeat at his own Weapons, and hath ever since declined any Enquiries into the *State of the Nation*. I had myself the Honour of some small Share in that memorable Dispute, without Doors, by pointing out the evil Tendency of *such Doctrines*, and am sorry to find my Apprehensions verify'd, that there was a *Scheme in Petto*, for loading the People with *new Burthens*, or introducing some *Variation in the present Burthen*, as the *Essay-writer* express'd it, which would be equally grievous.

In the Year 1730 his Majesty was pleas'd to express his royal Compassion for the *Hardships of the poor Artificers and Manufacturers*. In Pursuance of this Recommendation from the Throne, the Parliament took their Case into Consideration; and, after a long Debate, abolish'd the *Duties on SALT*, as the most effectual Relief to those *poor People*. This gave us Hopes of a gradual Ease from several *other Taxes*, which lye the most heavy on our *Trade and Manufactures*; and it was generally expected that the *Duties on Soap and Candles* would be soon taken off; but the very *next Year*, We received Information that a Scheme was then on Foot, for substituting a *general Excise* in the Room of a *Land-Tax*. We gave the Publick immediate Notice of *this Design*; and though it was strenuously deny'd, at that Time, our Information soon proved true; for the *Duties on SALT* were revived the *Year afterwards*, and laid for THREE YEARS CERTAIN, in lieu of a *Shilling in the Pound on LAND for ONE YEAR*. We were likewise told, at the same Time, that the *other Shilling on Land* should be taken off this Year, if Gentlemen would agree to *some reasonable Alterations in the Method of collecting the publick Revenue*; That is, by turning the *Customs* into *Excises*.

Thus have I traced the *present Scheme* from its original Conception down to this Time; and though it may be justly said that the *Projectors* and *Patrons* of it have pursu'd their Design in a very regular, consistent Manner; it is notorious that *their Advocates* have gone on in their usual Strain of *Contradiction* and *Prevarication*; sometimes applauding the *Project* as the most excellent Scheme, that ever enter'd into the Heart of Man; at other Times disowning it, as a *meer Chimæra* of our own fruitful Invention; but never daring to condemn it, in plain Terms; or to assert that *no such Design*, under any Shape whatever, is at present in Agitation.

It cannot be forgot that the profound Mr. *Osborne* mounted the Stage last Summer, upon this Occasion,
and

and made a silly *Zany's* Speech about *Excises*, without Head or Tail, to the great Diversion of the Publick. I was however in Hopes that He would have been prevail'd upon by his *Friends*, not to expose Himself any more in such an indecent Manner; and, indeed, I began to entertain some Opinion of his Prudence and Discretion, from his long Silence on this Head; but his *last Paper* hath quite undone Him with Me again, and confirm'd the Truth of an old Observation, that it is impossible to get the better of *Nature*.

He tell us with a very grave Face, at the End of this Paper, *that He hath acted the Part of a fair and honest Mediator, in the present Dispute*; That is, He hath talk'd backwards and forwards upon the Subject of *Excises* for two or three Columns together, and left it at last just where He found it, without bringing the *different Parties* a Step nearer to one another, and only giving us to understand, *that He does not know what to think of it Himself*.

Having set out, in his usual Strain, with a Definition of *private and publick Wisdom*, He proceeds to the Point, and informs us, *that Men in Power should consider, not only what is for the real Benefit of the Nation, but should pay some Regard to the Humours, Inclinations, and Prejudices of the People*. — On the other Hand, He observes, with the same Penetration, *that this Condescension should not be carry'd so far as to depart from what is right; for to lay aside Schemes, which appear upon the whole for the Benefit and Advantage of the Nation, only because the People are generally against them, and make a Noise in the Dark, shews Pusillanimity, and Want of Abilities, and Resolution to serve the Publick; it is mean and inglorious*. — Now, hear Him again, on the other Side. — *But then it should be well consider'd, whether the Scheme is right upon the whole; whether what is got one Way, is not lost another; whether it is not better to lose some Advantage to the Publick, or bear with some Frauds in Duties, rather than oppress, or grieve the*

the Subject by a new Manner of collecting, terrible in Apprehension, and, perhaps, in Fact burthensome to *Themselves and Posterity* — But let us see once more how He comes round about again. — *It is absurd*, says He, *to imagine that Ministers, if They only regarded their own Interest, should enter into Measures, which will set all the trading Part of the Nation against Them.* He tells us likewise, *that it is said, by the Friends of the Ministry, that this Scheme is highly advantageous to the Interest of the fair and honest Traders; that it will bring in near four hundred thousand Pounds a Year upon the present Duties; and, in short, that if ever the Ministers were right in any Thing, for the Good of the Nation, They are right in This.* — You see how adroitly He goes through his Evolutions. — *To the Right. — To the Left. — To the Right again. — About as you were.*

The Substance of his Mediation, as far as I can collect his Meaning from a Jumble of incoherent Words, seems to be; *that however terrible this Scheme may be in Apprehension, or, perhaps, in Fact, the People of Great Britain ought to give Themselves no Uneasiness about it; because it seems very improbable to Him, that the Ministry should engage in a Scheme, detrimental to the Publick; that They ought not to meet in Bodies all over the Kingdom, (which is call'd BULLYING Men in Power) and resolve strenuously to oppose an imaginary Monster, in any Form or Shape; but to wait with Patience, till the Scheme is laid before the Publick, that so They may know what to encounter; that if any Part of it should appear to be against the Interest of Trade, or the Ease of Tradersmen, They will have full Liberty to make their Objections; and if They can't get it laid aside, They may be able to obtain such Alterations as will give Them Satisfaction.*

What a fine System of *publick Wisdom* is here exhibited to us; and how worthy of a *Man*, who pretends to uncommon Stridness of Reasoning? Mr. Osborne, indeed, hath long ago proved Himself a *meer old Babe in Politicks*;

Politicks; but it was natural to suppose, at least, that He could not be ignorant of the old School-Maxim, *Principiis obsta*; or, *venienti occurrere Morbo*. Instead of This, He advises us to trust intirely to a *good Constitution*, and let the Distemper run on to a *Crisis*, before We apply any Remedy. — Nothing but the Importance of the Subject could have induced Me to take so much Notice of such an *inconsistent Jargon of Sophistry*; which must be my Apology for making a few more general Observations on the same Head.

It is the undoubted Privilege of *Englishmen* to petition the *Parliament*, and apply to their *Representatives* in all Cases, where They apprehend their *Interests*, or *Liberties*, to be concern'd. *This Privilege* is coeval with *Parliaments* themselves, and imply'd in the very Term of *Representatives*. It hath been often asserted, upon important Occasions, and fully confirm'd to us by several Resolutions of Parliament; particularly by the *Bill of Rights*, at the late glorious Revolution.

As therefore the *mercantile Part* of the Kingdom are fully warrant'd in their Conduct, upon this Occasion, by the fundamental Maxims of our Constitution, and the frequent Practice of former Times; so I think They have distinguish'd their Prudence in the Course of *this Opposition*, which They began at the *most proper Time*, and have carry'd on in the most *dutiful and peaceable Manner*, though with *great Vigour*, and without any Regard to *Party-Considerations*.

As to *Point of Time*, They had the Example of the *Druggists* before their Eyes, with Regard to the *Tea-Act*; who waited with Patience till the *Scheme was made publick*, according to Mr. *Osborne's* Advice, and then made their Objections against it; but were neither able to get it *laid aside*, nor to obtain *such Alterations* as gave Them Satisfaction. For this Reason, the *Merchants and Traders*, who apprehend Themselves in Danger from the *present Scheme*, have had Recourse to another Method, by applying to their *own particular Representatives*,

Representatives, whom They have a Right to *address*, and even *instruct*, upon such Occasions, according to antient and laudable Custom.

Neither ought This to be call'd *making a Noise in the dark*, or *encountering an imaginary Monster*. They are convinced by fatal Experience that it is no *Speltrre*, or *Phantom of their own Imagination*, which They have been opposing, but a *real Beast of Prey*; and will never be persuaded to let Him into their Houses, of their own Accord, under any Pretences that He shall be made gentle, or disabled from hurting Them. They know Him to be a fierce, intractable Creature, of the *Panther Kind* whom no Arts can tame; and though his *Teeth* and *Claws* should be blunted for the present, they will soon grow again.

In plain Terms, nobody can be now ignorant of the Nature of *this Project*; which is to turn the present Course of the Law, with Regard to the *Customs*, into another Channel; and therefore the *trading Part* of the Nation must be allow'd to have acted not only a *wise*, but a *just Part*, in endeavouring to prevent it, by all *dutiful and lawful Methods, under any Shape, or Pretence whatsoever*; for if *this Scheme*, or any *such Scheme*, should take Effect, it will be absolutely indifferent to *Them*, whether the *Projectors* shall think fit to call it an *Excise*, an *Inland Duty*, or a *Ware-house Duty*; or whether their Properties shall be subjected to the Power of *Commissioners, Inspectors, or other Officers of the Crown*. It is their Desire that *no Alteration of this Kind* may be made at all; but that They may continue to have the free Disposal of their own Goods, *after the Duties are paid*, without being liable to the Inquisition of *vexatious, little Tyrants*, vested with an arbitrary Power to disturb Them at any Time in their *Business*, or to pry into the *Secrets of their Trade*; and that if any Differences should happen to arise between the *Crown* and the *Subject*, they may be determined in the antient Manner, by a *Jury*, and in the *ordinary Courts of Justice*.

This

This is what They have requested of their *Representatives*, in the most pathetick Manner; and what They rely on the *Honour and Justice of Parliament* to secure to Them. It cannot therefore be thought that any *little Variations*, in the Method of executing *this Scheme*, will give Them Satisfaction, if any of *those essential Points* should be made a Part of it. The *Scheme* itself is built on a Supposition that *some extraordinary additional Powers* are requisite to prevent *Frauds in the Revenue*, as the Laws stand at present; and though the *Projectors* may be induced to qualify them, at first, with *some Restrictions*, they will be soon removed, if it should be found impracticable to execute their *Scheme* in its full Force with such a Clog upon it; for We must expect to hear it argued with great Plausibility, in such a Case, that *since the Parliament hath thought fit to make some Regulations in the Manner of collecting the Revenue*, it would be unreasonable to refuse the Crown a *sufficient Power to put them in Execution*.

Besides, if an *Excise* should be laid on *some Commodities*, under *such Restrictions*, I leave the *Projectors* themselves to consider, whether *those Persons*, who are now under the *plenary Powers of Excise*, would not have Reason to complain of *Inequality*, and a Right to expect the *same Indulgences*, in their Favour. — I might even ask Them, whether nothing of this Kind hath appear'd already amongst the Dealers in *exciseable Commodities*.

Let no Man therefore deceive Himself, or endeavour to deceive Others, by *little temporary Expedients*, in a Point of such infinite Importance to the *Trade, Interest and Liberty of the whole Nation*.

I cannot conclude better than by putting my Readers in Mind of the TROJAN HORSE. It is, indeed, a very old Story, but a very good one, and applicable to all Cases of the same Nature. Let us remember, my Countrymen, that one of the most famous Cities in the World was absolutely destroy'd by *that Stratagem*, after
it

it had resisted a Siege of ten Years. Let us also reflect that the *Trojans* were drawn into this fatal Snare by the plausible Tale of an *impudent, lying Fellow*, who made the strongest Professions of *Friendship*, and pretended to have nothing so much at Heart as *their Preservation*. But We cannot be deluded in the same Manner. We know what a GENERAL EXCISE is, and cannot be ignorant that it hath an ARMY in its Belly. Let us therefore keep a constant Guard at the Gates; and if another *Sinon* should endeavour to introduce *such a Monster* amongst us, under any *specious Pretences* whatsoever, let us reject his Offers with the utmost Indignation; for if We should once admit Him within our Walls, it will be almost impossible to escape the same Fate with that *unhappy People*. D.

THIS is to give Notice that the NORFOLK DEVICE (*being a curious, new-invented Instrument, for gauging any Vessel, without damaging the Liquor*) will soon be exposed to Sale by Mr. Judas Cocquet, lately arrived from Lynn-Regis, at his great Warehouse near Wine-Office-Court in Fleet-street.

Where may likewise be had,

All Sorts of Dimension-Books, Brads-Plates, Sliding-Rules, numerical Canes, and other mathematical Instruments, proper for Gentlemen of the Excise, approved and recommended by the honourable Sir John Mundungus, Knt. and Humphry Fitz-Drug, Esq;

N, B. *It being expected that there will soon be a general Demand for these Commodities, the said Judas Cocquet hath provided a very large Quantity for the present, and the Town may depend on being constantly supply'd with them at reasonable Rates.*

SATURDAY,



N^o 344. SATURDAY, February 3, 1732-3.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



F your Paper is not particularly engaged next Week, give me Leave to make a few Observations on a Letter, publish'd in the *Courant* of *January* the 22d, and sign'd CARUS.

It seems, you condescended to bestow some Remarks on *this Gentleman* in the *second Part of your Argument against EXCISES*, and intimated that you took Him to be an *Irishman*, by his *Manner of Writing*, and the *Name* He assumed; which, as you observed, is only a *Latin Word* for *dear Joy*.

This Reflection put the *Gentleman* into great Wrath, and obliged Him, as He tells us, to do Himself Justice against *the basest, falsest and most scandalous Aspersions, that ever dropt from the Pen of a Man, who makes Libelling his Business*; though, by the Way, I cannot help thinking that they are more likely to drop from the Pen of *such a Man* than from one, who does not make *Libelling* his Business. Neither can I conceive that calling Him an *Irishman*, or even a *Blunderer*, are Calumnies of such a *base and scandalous Nature*, though the Fact should happen to be *false*.

He endeavours to purge Himself from this Asperision by a Strain of Wit, and tells us *that He takes this Criticism on his Name to be an humble Imitation of that taking Joke in the Recruiting Officer, that CAROLUS is Latin for Queen ANNE*. Now, I always thought
the

the Humour of that Jest lay in the Ignorance of Serjeant *Kite*; for *Carulus* is not Latin for Queen *Anne*, though *Carus* is for dear *Joy*; and therefore the Insinuation that you know no more of *Latin* than Serjeant *Kite* is, I think, as *base, false and scandalous an Aspersion*, as your charging Him with being a *blundering Irishman*.

He then proceeds very gravely to the Discovery of his Reasons for assuming that Appellation; and observes rightly enough, in his own Defence, *that He cannot see any Thing in the Word Carus, which looks less honest, or inoffensive, than in William, Caleb, Nicholas, or any other Name whatsoever.*—But what chiefly occasion'd this Letter is the following Assertion.

As to what the Craftsman intimates of my being an Irishman; That is, like Abundance of other Things He asserts, an impudent Falshood. I neither am a Native of that Kingdom, nor so much as ever set my Foot in it.

This, Sir, is so impudent a Falshood, (to use his own Words) that it provoked Me to expo'se Him in publick; for of all Men in the World I hate a *Liar*, and one, who *disowns his Country*. As for *this Writer*, I know Him to be not only born and bred in *Ireland*, but one of the *old Natives*, or *Aborigines* of that Kingdom. His Father kept a *Potatoe-Shop* at a little Village, in the County of *Donnegal*, and having a numerous Family, a Gentleman of my Acquaintance in the Neighbourhood took *this Son* into his Family, to run of Errands. The Boy proving a pert young Lad, my Friend had some Hopes of Him; and, being a Gentleman of a charitable Disposition, put him to a Grammar-School, where He learn'd to *read*, and pick'd up a little *Latin*; but growing untowardly afterwards, and having plaid some Pranks there, which I shall conceal at present, He was obliged to leave that Country, and came over to *England*, to seek his Fortune. About nine or ten Months ago, I met Him in the *Park* in very good Plight, and sprucely dress'd. Being somewhat surprized at such a Sight, I found upon

upon Enquiry that He had been recommended to Mr. *Traplaw*, the Solicitor, and was admitted a Member of his Club in *Holborn*.

This, *Sir*, I can prove by indisputable Evidence; but without giving You, or the Publick, that Trouble, I will undertake to demonstrate from the Paper now before Me, that Nobody but a downright *Bog-trotter* could have been the Author of it.

In the first Place, He tells us, *that He is not acquainted with the Gentleman, against whom your Satire was pointed.*—If therefore you mistook your *Man*, and pointed your Satire at the *wrong Object*, what hath *this Writer* to do with it; or how was it incumbent on *Him* to clear Himself from an Aspersion, which was not aim'd at Him, and could not be apply'd to Him, unless He hath had the Vanity to take the Merit of *those Papers* to Himself amongst his Acquaintance?—He might have continued in perpetual Obscurity, if He pleased, and Nobody could have laugh'd at Him, in particular, for the ridiculous Figure He made in your Writings.

He adds, *that whatever my Style may in the Courant have of the Hibernian Cast, I aver that my Writings, on another Occasion, have been copied in Fog, and recommended in the Craftsman.*—I wish He had been pleased to specify *those Writings*, that the Publick might judge of them; but I will venture to answer for both of you, that they were not in Favour of *Excises*, or *standing Armies*; and therefore This can be look'd upon only as a blundering Confession that He hath turn'd his Coat, since his Admittance into the *ministerial Club*.

I shall take Notice of but one Passage more, to prove his Extraction; and That is where He calls upon *his Countrymen*, to remark how readily you fall into PERSONAL INVECTIVE, though you have not the least Knowledge of the MAN, whom you defame.—Ubooboo, upo' my Shoul, dear Joy, the Brogue is upon your Pen.

-V^o L. X.

M

Personal

Personal Invektive without any kind of *personal Knowledge* is certainly an *Irricism*. It puts me in Mind of Father *Feigard*, in the *Stratagem*, who endeavour'd to pass Himself off for the Son of a Burgomaster of *Brussels*; and being charged with going to School at *Tipperary*, cry'd out by Way of Triumph, *no, no, Joy, it was Kilkenny*.

I cannot conclude, without acquainting you that I am myself the Son of an *Englistman*, born in *Ireland*, and therefore have a natural Affection for *both Kingdoms*. I am far from being pleased to see any national Reflections cast on *either*; and must do you, *Sir*, the Justice to observe, that you have been very sparing of those fashionable *Sarcastisms*; but when such a *shameless, absurd Creature* as this *Carus* sets up for a *Writer*, and pretends to *reason*, I am not surpriz'd at the *Imputations* fix'd on my native Country. If He should persist in such abandon'd *Falshoods*, He must expect to see his *true Name* publish'd at Length, with some other Circumstances of his Life, which I have hitherto conceal'd, in Hopes of his Amendment; and to shew Him that I am ready to justify what I have said, I shall subscribe my own Name to this Letter, being,

S I R, your constant Reader,

and humble Servant,

Arthur's Coffee-house,
N. in Piccadilly.

PATRICK BRITON.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

AS the late Act, for the better Regulation of JURIES, is near expiring, and you have frequently mention'd it in your Writings, on different Accounts,

Accounts, I presume some Thoughts on that Subject will not be disagreeable at present.

The *Act* itself was certainly well design'd, and excellently calculated, in general, to restore the Use of *Juries* to their primitive Institution, of protecting the Liberties, Properties and Lives of *Englishmen*. For this Purpose, it was made temporary at first, for *three Years* only, in order to see whether it would produce the intended Effect; and a just Exception having been taken to a *Clause* in it, concerning SPECIAL JURIES, which may be hereafter turn'd to the Prejudice of the *Subject*, We have Reason to hope that our Representatives will take some effectual Method for securing us against any such Danger, in Case They should think fit to continue *this Law*, as I hope They will. — The *Clause* I mean runs in the following Words.

“ And whereas some Doubt hath been conceived,
 “ touching the Power of his Majesty's Courts of Law
 “ at *Westminster*, to appoint Juries to be struck before
 “ the Clerk of the Crown, Master of the Office, Prothonotaries, or other proper Officer of such respective
 “ Courts, for the Trial of Issues depending in the said
 “ Courts, without the Consent of the Prosecutor, or
 “ Parties concern'd in the Prosecution, or Suit then
 “ depending, unless such Issues are to be try'd at the Bar
 “ of the same Courts; be it declared and enacted by
 “ the Authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to and for his Majesty's Courts of *King's Bench*,
 “ *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, at *Westminster*, respectively, upon Motion made on Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or on the Motion of
 “ any Prosecutor, or Defendant, in any Indictment, or
 “ Information for any Misdemeanor, or Information in
 “ the Nature of a *Quo Warranto* depending, or to be
 “ brought, or prosecuted in the said Court of *Exchequer*,
 “ or on the Motion of any Plaintiff, or Plaintiffs, Defendant, or Defendants, in any Action, Cause, or Suit
 “ whatsoever, depending or to be brought and carry'd
 “ on in the said Courts of *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*,

“ and *Exchequer*, or in any of them ; and the said
 “ Courts are hereby respectively authorized and re-
 “ quired, upon Motion as aforesaid, in any of the Cases
 “ before-mentioned, to order and appoint a *Jury* to be
 “ struck, before the proper Officer of each respective
 “ Court, for the Trial of any Issue join'd in any of the
 “ said Cases, and triable by a *Jury of twelve Men*, in
 “ such Manner as *SPECIAL JURIES* have been, and are
 “ usually struck in such Courts respectively, upon
 “ Trials at Bar had in the said Courts ; which said
 “ *Juries*, so struck as aforesaid, shall be the *Jury* re-
 “ turn'd for the Trial of the said Issue.

The chief Provision of *this Act* is, in a great Measure, defeated by the *Clause* now recited ; and no Man can depend on being try'd, in any Case, whether *criminal* or otherwise, by a *Jury* to be chosen by *Ballot* ; for We see that the *Judges* are obliged to order a *special Jury* to be struck by their *own Officers*, in the former Manner, upon the Motion of *either Party*.

It is therefore hoped that when *this Law* comes again under the Consideration of Parliament, the *Clause* before-mention'd will be either left out, or limited in such a Manner as to prevent the bad Effects of it, by excepting all Cases, where the *Crown* is concern'd, or restraining the *Judges* from granting a *special Jury*, unless *both Parties* consent to it.

A. I am, S I R, &c. ANGLIENS,



SATURDAY,



N^o 345. SATURDAY, *Feb.* 10, 1732-3.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



When the People find Themselves generally aggrieved, They are apt to manifest their Resentment in satyrical Ballads, Allegories, By-layings, and ironical Points of low Wit. They sometimes go farther, and break out into hieroglyphical Expressions of their Anger against the *Person*, whom They conceive to be the Projector of any Injury done, or intended to be done Them.

Neither is it prudent in a *Minister* to neglect, or despise such Eruptions of *popular Resentment*. I think it behoves a *Politician*, whose Passions are not much stronger than his Reason, not only to read those Fables and Allegories, under which his Character is exhibited to the World, but to regard them with the greatest Attention, for his own Safety, as well as the publick Good. *Epidemical Clamour*, as it is generally founded on a just Cause, is a Spirit not easily to be laid, or satisfy'd, without taking its Revenge on the *Person*, who raised it.

The general Aversion of the People, at this Time, against paying their Taxes by way of *Excise*, or to any Scheme for exceeding the *Laws of Exigence*, hath discover'd itself in the Manner I have described. One cannot walk the Streets without hearing some *little, gibing Piece of Wit*, or seeing some *Droll-Emblem*, design'd to express the general Dislike of the People to *this Sort of Taxation*.

As I was sauntering some Days ago through *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, I saw a Groupe of People, who seem'd to be exceedingly delighted with a *little, political Ditty*, chaunted out to Them in a rough Base, and containing several humorous Reflections on *this Project*; which was represented to Them on a wooden Cut, (by Way of Frontispiece) under the Figure of a *devouring Dragon*, with several Heads. *This Monster* drew a Chariot; in which sat a very *portly Person*, receiving prodigious Sums of Gold, which issued from one of the Mouths of the *Beast*, and shower'd directly into his Lap. The *Cbaunter* and his *Audience* seem'd extremely pleas'd with each other, and did not part till He had dispos'd of all his Goods.

I was no sooner got into *Holbourn* than I met with another Croud of People about a *Tobacconist's* Shop, who had drawn Them thither by a *new Device* on his printed Papers, adapted to the present Occasion. I perceived the Populace were highly pleas'd with the Joke, and most of Them laid out a Penny with the Man, to encourage Him. Curiosity induced me to follow their Example, and I found my *Tobacco* adorn'd with a typical Lampoon on the same Subject. It consisted of *three wooden Shoes* inclos'd in a Mantle, like a *Coat of Arms*, supported by an *Exciseman* properly habited, on one Side, and a *Grenadier*, on the other, with these Words as a Motto, '*Blood, We'll stand Them all.*'

I was likewise told by a Gentleman, whom I met in the Street, that a *Vintner* of his Acquaintance hath projected a curious *new Sign*, in the *Rebus* Way, representing a Man upon a Scaffold, with his Head lopt off; *i. e. Excised*; and the same Humour is becoming general about Town.

After This, I made a Visit in the City, where some Ladies and Gentlemen were diverting themselves at *Quadrille*. I found They had changed the very Terms of the Game, and seem'd to indulge Themselves in this fashionable Satire. *Spadille* was call'd the *Projector*; the

N^o 345. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 139

the other *Matadores* had the Honour of being styled *Commissioners*; and when any one was *Beefed*, He was, in their Language, *Excised*.

At Supper, They preserved the same Allusion. A Lady told us very seriously that, coming from *Hampstead* that Morning, she had been visited on the Road by a *Collector*, who was very generous, having *excised* only two Guineas out of ten, which she had in her Purse; and that, upon her expressing some Surprize at his Civility in not taking the whole, when it was in his Power; “*Madam*, said He, *I rob like a Gentleman*; “*I assure you I do not belong to the PROJECTOR*; “*I am none of his Gang*.

We then fell into Discourse about the present epidemical Distemper, which is commonly call'd the *Excise Plague*, as it *cuts the People off* in so terrible a Manner. Ay, said another Lady, with a very grave Countenance, it is no more than what We might expect this Year, according to an old Proverb,

* *When my LORD falls into my LADY's Lap,
England, beware of a great Clap.*

This made a *Gentleman* in Company smile a little; and turning to me, He observed that the People are so generally exasperated against *this Scheme*, that it is grown a common Term of Invektive and Complaint. The *Dissenters*, said He, call the *Test-Act* an *Excise upon Conscience*, and Men of all Denominations apply it to That, which They apprehend to be most grievous and burthensome to Them.

When I came home, I perceived myself infected with this new Way of talking. I ask'd my Servant if the *Exciseman* had brought me any Letters this Post. He reply'd there were none; but that a *real Officer of the*

* *That is, when Easter-Sunday falls upon Lady-Day,
as it happens this Year.*

the Excise had been there, and left a printed Paper, by which *He gave me Leave* to accept of half a Dozen Bottles of *Arrack*, that had been given me by a Friend. I then went to Bed, not a little confounded with these odd Ideas of *Dragons, Chariots, Excises*, and the whole Crowd of Monsters, that had been thrust into my Head the Day before.

Falling into a profound Sleep, I thought myself convey'd into a very magnificent Anti-Chamber; at the upper End of which sat a *goodly fat Personage* in a large Elbow-Chair, somewhat in Years, and not unlike the Figure, which I had observed the Day before, in the *hieroglyphical Chariot*. There were several odd Kind of shabby-looking busy Fellows, who crowded through his Levee, and made their Way to Him, cringing and bowing very low. At first, I took Them for *Petitioners*, who came to sue for a *Pension*, or a *Place*; but, upon getting a little nearer to Them, I found by the Papers They held in their Hands that They were Projectors of various Schemes for *raising Money*. I saw Labels annex'd to their several Projects, on which were written *perpetual Mortgages, Capitations, Poll Taxes, &c.* They were all received very graciously by the *Man in the Chair*, who told Them with a Smile, NOT YET, and put Them off for the present. Immediately after, another very whimsical plump Creature came bustling and puffing through the Room, with the Term EXCISOR, written in Capitals on his Breast, and the Words COFFEE, TEA and CHOCOLATE inscribed, in the same Characters, on his forehead. When *this Phenomenon* approach'd, He lent the Knee, and deliver'd a Paper to the *Person in Authority*, who received and read it with visible Marks of Satisfaction. They whisper'd a few Minutes together; after which, the *great Man* call'd out aloud for WINE and TOBACCO. I thought He might have taken a Fancy to converse with his *Clients*; but was soon undeceived as to that Point, by his addressing Them in the following Manner. ———

Gentlemen,

N^o 345. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 141

Gentlemen, I have a particular Esteem for you all; and out of meer Regard for your Health, I will take Care for the future that your Wine and Tobacco shall be unadulterated. — This Declaration, as specious as it seem'd, gave Offence to several grave, well-looking Persons, who were then in the Room. They drew near and began to reason with Him; to advise; to expostulate; to remonstrate against *this Project*. But it was all in vain. He reply'd, with an insolent Frown, **IT IS RESOLVED.** They renew'd their Instances and even press'd them with more Earnestness and Importunity; upon which He could refrain no longer, but told Them, in plain Terms, that *They were all * MAD and He would treat Them accordingly.* Then catching his Brother-Projector by the Hand, He stalk'd suddenly out of the Room, and left Them to grumble by Themselves.

I was soon after startled out of my Sleep by loud Conclamations of *no Excise; down with the Dragon;* and could not help observing how exactly our *Dreams* sometimes correspond with the Objects, that present Themselves to us when *awake*. I shall therefore conclude with a few serious Remarks on the same Subject.

As no *Project* can be more universally odious than the *present*, so I believe none was ever more strongly oppos'd on one Side, or more weakly defended on the other; and therefore if it should prevail, it will be but an ill Presage of what We may expect for the future. The *Advocates for Excises* have been obliged to pass over the most essential Objections to *their Scheme*, and to dwell upon *two or three Points*, of a much inferior Nature. Nay, even their Arguments on these Heads depend on *begging a whole String of Questions.*

I am

* Alluding, perhaps, to the Motto of some late Writings, in Favour of a certain Gentleman.

Non CIVIUM Ardor, prava jumentum,
Mente quatit solidâ.

I am very well pleas'd with the Title, which *one of these Writers* hath lately taken to Himself. The OCCASIONAL FINANCIER is certainly a proper Appellation for One, who espouses a Project of *French Extravasion*, and excellently adapted to *that Sort of Government*.

This Gentleman insists chiefly on *two Points*, in Behalf of his Scheme, *viz.* that it will prevent the *Adulteration of Wine*, (for I think *Tobacco* is pretty much out of the Question, as to *that Point*) and increas'd the *publick Revenue*.

With Regard to the *first*, He runs on in a long Strain of pedantick Fustian against the *Dealers in Wine*, as a Set of * *common Poisoners* and *Cut-Throats*, who make it their Business to destroy Man, Woman and Child; *even the Infant at the Nurse's Breast*; (as He most pathetically complains;) *say That, which is unborn*.

Though I am far from being an Advocate for these *Wine-Coiners*, *Wizards* and *Anti-Chymists*, as He calls Them in other Places of the same Paper; (which is properly an Address to all the Sorts in the Nation) yet I do not take Them to be such *barbarous, bloody and inhuman Murderers* as He represents Them. I am afraid, indeed, there is too much Reason for the common Complaints of *Wine-Brewing*; but I do not apprehend the *Ingredients*, which are made Use of to that Purpose, to be of such a pernicious and deadly Nature, though they are certainly Impositions on the Publick. Let us suppose, for Instance, with our *English Financier*, that They lengthen out their *foreign Wines* with *Water*, *Cyder*, or *other home-made Liquors*. I can see nothing of such a terrible Consequence in any of these; and as they are the *cheapest Materials*, They can use, I am willing to believe them the *worst*; for it will be allow'd, I suppose, that *Profit* is the sole Inducement

* *Courant*, Feb. 1.

Inducement to *such Mixtures*, and that even the arrantest *Wine-Brewer* in Town can have no Interest in *poisoning his Customers*.

Neither do I conceive how *this Practice* will be prevented by the *present Scheme*; and could heartily wish that Mr. *Osborne's Friend*, who hath seen and approved it, had been pleas'd to have favour'd us with the Particulars, that We might have judg'd freely of it, before it is decided by Authority. In Cases of this Nature, the *Duty* is commonly the chief Point in View, and if the *Dealer* will be satisfy'd with paying the *Crown* for what He sells, the *Composition* is but little regarded; but whatever *Limitations* may be added of this Kind, We may presume, at least, that the *Vintners* will not be restrain'd from mixing *bad Wines* with *good*; (which is, perhaps, the most pernicious Mixture of all) or prohibited from making Use of *such Ingredients*, as are necessary to fine down the *neatest Wines*, and fit them for Sale.

I am likewise far from being clear in my Opinion, concerning the *Improvement of the Revenue*; I mean, if *this Scheme* should prevent the *Evils* complain'd of, in so moving a Manner; for it is allow'd, I think, that the *Price of Wines* would be advanced, in such a Case; and the Consequence of This must be, either that it will diminish the *Consumption*, which will lessen the *Revenue*; or that the *Importation* must be greatly enlarged, which will affect the *Ballance of Trade*, in one of its tenderest and most important Articles.

But granting the *Financier* all these Points; that the *present Scheme* will absolutely prevent the *Adulteration of Wine*, without lessening the *Consumption*, by the *increased Price*; or turning the *Ballance of Trade*, by a much larger *Importation*; admitting, I say, all these Suppositions, the two principal Objections to his *Scheme*, with Regard to our *Liberties*, still remain in their full Force; as it will deprive particular Persons of their Privilege to be try'd by a *Jury*, and greatly endanger
the

the Constitution in general, by an *Increase of Crown-Officers*; two Points, which I hope will never be sacrificed to the single Consideration of any supposed Advantage to the *Revenue*.

D. R.

I am, S I R, &c.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq*

S I R,

THE daily Expectation we are now under, of having the *Excise Laws* extended, ought to stir up all of us, who value *Liberty*, to exert our utmost Endeavours in preventing an Evil, of which no Man can foresee the Consequences.

Very commendable has been the Application of several Cities and Boroughs to their respective Members of Parliament, requiring Them to oppose, with their utmost Vigour, any *new Excise*, under whatever Pretext, Shape, or Denomination.

One of the Commodities chiefly threaten'd at present is WINE; and the Reason assign'd for it is to prevent *Adulteration*; but can there be no other Remedy found out, to prevent this Practice, but one, that is worse than the Disease? Sure I am that the Wisdom of our Parliament could inflict Penalties sufficient to deter such Transgressors; Those I mean, who by sufficient Evidence are proved to have mix'd with their Wine any other Liquor but Wine; and surely, this Method would be more just and reasonable than an *Excise Law*, which certainly punishes the *Innocent* with the *Guilty*.

The *occasional Financier* is pleas'd to allow, in his great Goodness, that there may be some *few honest Traders in the wholesale Way*; yet in this Case their *Honesty* will not exempt Them from Punishment; but He does not scruple to stigmatize the *Retailers* in a Lump with the most scandalous Names he can devise, and makes

Nº 346. *The CRAFTSMAN* 145

makes them all without Exception as black as the D——l. But what, I pray, have the *Wives* and *Daughters* of these Men done to have their Characters exposed in so scandalous a Light? I believe They are Strangers to this *subterraneous black Art*, of which the Gentleman speaks, and deserve a little better Usage than to be call'd a Parcel of *Bawds* and *Whores*, as the *Financier* in Effect does, by asserting that even their *BEDCHAMBERS are at the Service of their Customers*.

—— Is This the *Cordial Julip* to make us swallow down so *bitter a Potion*? I flatter myself that such scurrilous Language will be answer'd by some abler Pen. In the mean time, your inserting this little Hint in your Paper, will infinitely oblige one of your constant Readers.

N.

VINARIUS.



Nº 346. SATURDAY, Feb. 17, 1732-3.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



AS the *Landholders* are the only Persons, pretended to be cas'd by the present Project of excising WINE and TOBACCO, I beg Leave by your Means to offer Them some Considerations upon that Subject.

Gentlemen,

I can't help observing that it hath always been the Method of ill-designing Men to endeavour to *divide the People*, whom They would *enslave*; and therefore am not surprized to hear revived, upon this Occasion, the invidious Distinction of the *landed* and *trading Interest*,

VOL. X.

N

which

which in Reality are always united; the *annual Rent of Lands* and the *Number of Years Purchase* having generally increased, or decreased, as *Trade* hath been more, or less flourishing. For this Reason I desire to lay before you some Considerations on the *present Scheme, for collecting the Duties on WINE and TOBACCO.*

Gentlemen, I shall *first* consider what immediate Advantage is proposed to you by it; and *secondly*, if there should be any, whether it will be for your Interest, upon a slight Advantage, to consent to the incommoding, if not enslaving, so great a Number of your Fellow-Subjects.

As to the *first*, it is said that, by collecting the present Duties on *Wine and Tobacco*, by Way of *Excise*, a Surplus beyond what they now produce may be raised, sufficient to answer *one Shilling in the Pound upon Land.*

In Answer to This, I am credibly inform'd, as you may upon Enquiry, that the whole Duties upon *these Commodities*, at present, do not amount to near such a Sum; and it is very improbable that *this Method* should more than double it; since I have not heard of any Frauds proved to be committed by the Dealers in *those bulky Commodities*, or so much as mention'd before now; though You must have heard of several in *Tea* and *Coffee*, since the Duties on *those Commodities* have been collected *this Way.*

But if it should be design'd to give *those Duties* for a Number of Years to come, as was done in the *Salt-Tax*, to answer the *Land-Tax of one Shilling in the Pound for one Year*; I wish, *Gentlemen*, You would consider whether it would be for your Advantage to run in Debt, and mortgage your Estates to the Publick, on that Account; for You must pay your Proportion of the *Tax*, as *Consumers*, as well as your Share of the *Charge of Collection*, and the additional Profit of the *Trader*, who will expect it for his additional Trouble and Servitude.

I wish

I wish likewise You would consider, that if there should be a *Deficiency*, (a Thing by no Means unlikely) it may, in a Year or two, occasion *one Shilling in the Pound extraordinary upon Land*, to make it good.

You would also do well to compute your Savings by the *Salt-Duty*. A Gentleman of 500 *l. per Ann.* who pays the *full Tax*, hath this Year paid 25 *l.* less to the Government; but He hath paid 3 *s.* 4 *d.* *per Bushel* on all the *Salt* consumed in his Family, and all *salted Commodities* used in it, besides the additional Duty laid on Him by the *Retailer*, and is to pay it for *two Years to come*; nay, He is liable to make good any *Deficiency*, that may happen at the End of that Term; and not only This, but his *Tenants*, by this additional Expence in the Support of their Families and Labourers, may find it necessary to ask for an *Abatement of Rent*.

Another Reason, urged for *this Alteration*, is the Care of our *Health*, and the Concern They have that We should drink *better Wine*, by preventing *Mixtures* to be sold for *Wine*.

This *Over-Tenderness for us* is much to be suspected; and I am afraid the *Project* will not answer the End; for *those Mixtures* may be certainly afforded cheaper than *neat Wine* can be imported, even though they should pay the Duty on *Wines*.

Besides, if it should produce this Effect, it ought to be maturely weigh'd whether *good Wine*, as it is call'd, may not do more Harm to the Publick than *bad*, by tempting People to *Excess*, as well as occasioning a larger Importation of *that Commodity*, consequently a larger Ballance, in Favour of *Foreigners*, and less Consumption of *Malt Spirits, Cyder and Perry*, which are Home-Manufactures, generally suppoied to be used in *such Mixtures*, made from the Produce of your Lands, already subjected to a *large Duty*; which Branch of the Revenue may become deficient by *these Means*, and You be call'd upon to supply *that Deficiency*.

It is urg'd likewise, in Defence of *this Scheme*, that *many Duties* are collected *this Way* already. I am sorry there are so many Instances of it; but it is but a small Consolation, that the *Dealers in these Commodities* will have a great many Fellow-Sufferers; and it is a very insolent Way of Reasoning, that because a *great Number of People are already oppress'd*, therefore it will be no Grievance to *increase the Number*.

I hope, *Gentlemen*, that this very Argument will convince you it is Time to put a Stop to *this grievous Method of collecting the publick Revenues*; since the farther it extends, the better Argument it will be, according to the Logick of *these Gentlemen*, for extending it still farther, and may in Time reach to *Yourselves*.

There is already a large Body of People liable to have *Soldiers* quarter'd upon Them; but I hope it will never be thought a good Argument for making more People liable to the same Burthen.

That *this Method of Collection* is grievous, I appeal to the Experience of all Traders, subject to the *Laws of Excise*, and to the impartial Judgment of every disinterested Gentleman.

Some *shallow Coxcombs* (Compositions of Ignorance, Idleness and Indolence) have attempted to ridicule the People, liable to be aggrieved by *this Method*, as Persons of no Consequence, and unworthy of any Regard.

I am sorry, *Gentlemen*, that They should be so considerable for their Numbers; and believe, if *this Project* succeeds, the Traders, subject to the *Laws of Excise*, will be a very large Proportion of the *Burgesses* of this Kingdom, and no small Part of the *Freeholders*; which leads me to the *second Thing* I propos'd to your Consideration, *viz.* whether you will find it your Interest, for any present Advantage, to consent to the Grievance of so considerable a Number of your Fellow-Subjects.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

We have, in Conjunction, been at the Expence of above *two hundred Millions*, in Support of our common Liberties, since the *Revolution*; and I hope you will never consent to the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Branch of them, as the quiet and undiſturb'd Poſſeſſion of our own Houſes, for the Sum of *three, or four hundred thouſand Pounds a Year*; the utmoſt Convenience propoſed by this Abridgment of them.

Should you come into *ſuch a Scheme*, wicked Men hereafter may make Uſe of this Argument with the *Burgeſſes of England* to conſent to the Abridgment, or Invaſion of *your Liberties*; an Handle, which I hope you will never give Them; ſince People, who are Themſelves oppreſs'd, are apt to loſe all generous Concern for the Liberty of others, and their Oppreſſion may pave the Way to your own.

What Tenderneſs the *Projeſtors of this Scheme* have for your Intereſt, may be collected from the vaſt Quantities of *French Brandy*, permitted to be imported from *Dunkirk* at the *Flemiſh Duty*; by which a very conſiderable Part of the Produce of your Eſtates ſells at ſo low a Price.

But I hope that *People of Education*, ſuch as Gentlemen living upon their Eſtates are ſuppoſed to be, ſhould be wrought upon by Motives far more generous; and that a Concern for the *Liberties of Mankind* ſhould animate you above any mean Conſiderations of *private Intereſt*. O.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt affectionate

Fellow-Subject,

and Countryman,

S. S.

N 3

From

From my own Chambers.

SOME Years ago a merry Treatise was publish'd, intitled, *a learned Dissertation on OLD WOMEN, male and female, &c.*—I can never read the Works of Mr. Osborne, without thinking of *that Piece*, and looking upon Him as a *male, old Woman*. Every Paper He publishes is written perfectly in the *anile Manner*, and puts me in Mind of my *poor Granny*. Methinks, I see the *good, old Gentlewoman* sitting by the Fire-side, in her great arm'd Chair, holding forth her Lectures of Morality to her little Grand-Children and Maid-Servants. Mr. Osborne's Writings are exactly of this Kind, and contain the strongest Characteristicks of *feminine Dotage*. He is very talkative, very positive, and very censorious; eternally dwelling on the same dull Topicks, and so full of his own Wisdom, as not to perceive that every Body of Sense laughs at Him and despises Him. His only Admirers are a *few, old Quidnuncs*, like Himself, and his brightest Productions are what the Chymists call *Anima Saturni; the Soul, or Quintessence of LEAD*.

In his Paper of *Saturday* last, after his usual Compliments to the *Ministers*, He resumes the old Topick of *Civium Ardor*, and inveighs very warmly against the *Enemies of the People*, in running about from *Coffee-house to Coffee-house*; meeting together in great Bodies; and sending Petitions from all Parts of the Kingdom, beseeching their Representatives not to suffer the *Excise* Monster to invade Them.

He then mumps his toothless Gums, and endeavours to be a little waggish, by turning *these Petitions* into Ridicule; but alas! That is not his Talent; and I would advise Him, as a Friend, not to attempt it any more, but rely on his usual Method of *solemn, abstracted Reasoning*.

His chief Resentment seems to be levell'd against the *Instructions from St. ALBAN's*; which, He says, *neither contain*

N^o 346. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 151

contain the Sense of the INHABITANTS, nor of the CORPORATION ; and for Proof of This, He alludes to an obscure Advertisement in one of the News-papers, without any Name subscribed to it; so that, for aught We know, it might have been drawn up and publish'd by Himself.

As for the Insinuation, *that this Paper was clandestinely sign'd*, it is well known that the Corporation of *St. ALBAN's* consists of a *Mayor and twelve Aldermen*; and I am credibly inform'd that the *Seal* was put to *these Instructions* by the unanimous Consent of the said *Mayor and ten Aldermen*, being all, who were then in Town; and that *one of the two absent Aldermen* wrote a Letter to the *new-elected Member*, in much stronger Terms than the *Instructions*.——Now, by what Figure in Rhetorick a Corporation can be said to *steal their own Seal*, I must leave this profound Wag to explain. But the most effectual Way to convince the World that *these Instructions do not contain the Sense of the Corporation*, will be for *this Gentleman*, or his Friends, to procure a Petition from *St. Alban's*, in Favour of EXCISES, as They formerly did from some *wise-headed Victuallers*, in Behalf of the POT-ACT.

After This, He proceeds to some other Points, which He dispatches with the same Judgment and Address.

Having charged me with asserting, *that our Trade is decaying, and our Poor are starving*, He assures us, by Way of Reply, *that Work is so plenty, and Provisions so cheap, that in Bradford, a Cloth-working Town near the Bath, there was drank by the labouring People, from June 1731 to June 1732, above 7,000 l. worth of strong Beer*.——I must confess that I have not the same general Intelligence with Mr. Osborne, and therefore cannot contradict this important Account; but if it is true, the good People of *Bradford* are certainly a Parcel of rare, jolly, toping Blades, and have been very considerable Benefactors to the Revenue. I wish Mr. Osborne could oblige us with the same good News from
all

all the manufacturing Towns in the Kingdom, which would be of great Use to his Argument, concerning the flourishing Condition of our *Trade*; for He ought to remember that, according to logical Rules, no *general Conclusion* can be drawn from *particular Premisses*.

Mr. Osborne is likewise very angry at a Rumour about Town, *that as soon as the present Scheme is finish'd, We shall have no more Parliaments, or that the present Parliament will perpetuate Themselves.* This Report, says He, *monstrous as it is, and wicked as it is monstrous, is carefully convey'd over the Nation, seriously talk'd of, and thoroughly believed, not only by Countrymen, but Persons, who live in the City, and tho' MAD quoad hoc, or as to Excises, are otherwise Men of good Sense.*——To This I reply, in the Words of an old Proverb, that *Oppression will make a wise Man mad*; and when People are *out of their Senses*, We cannot wonder at any romantick Apprehensions that may happen to come into their Heads. But as for myself (tho' I may, perhaps, be thought a little *Excise-mad*, like the rest of the World) I can assure Mr. Osborne that I have been so far from spreading, or encouraging *such a Report*, that I have constantly endeavour'd to suppress it, wherever I have heard it mention'd, by shewing the Unreasonableness and Improbability of so *desperate an Expedient*; for the People are sufficiently dissatisfy'd already with a *septennial Parliament*, and any farther Extension of *that Term* would certainly throw Them into a Flame. They rather seem to expect that *annual, or triennial Parliaments* should be revived; and even Mr. Osborne himself hath formerly given us some broad Hints that He did not approve of *long Parliaments*; but at present He seems to be stark *Ministry-mad*, and raves in the same frantick Style with his *Patron*; *that all the Merchants in England know nothing of Trade, and don't understand their own Interest.*——I shall therefore disturb Him no farther in *these political Reveries*,

N^o 347. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 153

veries, but leave Him to enjoy them, or compose his Brain, just as it may happen:

D.

CAL. D'ANVERS.



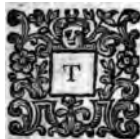
N^o 347. SATURDAY, *Feb. 24, 1732-3.*

The following Letter is of such Importance to the *Liberty of Elections for Members of Parliament*, that it deserves the strictest Attention of the Publick, at this Time. We are assured that the Gentleman, who sent it, is ready to justify the Particulars, by *authentick Vouchers*; and therefore think ourselves obliged to take the first Opportunity of publishing it, as a practical Illustration of our late Arguments against EXCISES and STANDING ARMIES.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,

CHESTER, *Feb. 10, 1732-3.*



HE Affairs of *this City*, on our late Elections of a *Mayor* and a *Representative*, in the Room of Sir *Richard Grosvenor* deceased, having been vilely misrepresented in the *Daily Courant* and other *Court Papers*, you are desired to set those Transactions in a true Light.

As great Industry hath been used, for a considerable Time past, to divide the natural Interest of *this Place*, and the most indirect Measures have been taken for that Purpose, I am obliged, in Justice to the Publick and particularly to the Citizens of *Chester*, to expose the Artifices of Mr. MANLEY and his Adherents, in order to promote their own Interest, and weaken

That

That of the GROSVENOR Family, who have been constant and generous Benefactors to *this City*.

I must begin with observing that about two Years ago one Mr. *Kinderley* came to *Chester*, in order to view the River *Dee*, giving out that Mr. *Manley* had directed Him to prepare Plans of it, and that He would undertake to make it navigable, upon Terms to be proposed to the City.

A Work so desirable and advantageous, as This was represented, met with every Body's Approbation; and though many Citizens differ'd in their Opinions, concerning the Manner of executing *such a Scheme*, yet all concurr'd in wishing Success to the Undertaking in general,

About a Year ago Mr. *Kinderley* deliver'd his Proposals to the *then Mayor*, who immediately call'd a Council; and They appointed a Committee to consider of it, as well as to procure the Consent of the principal Merchants and Traders for laying such a Duty upon all the *Exports* and *Imports* of the said City, as (together with the other Advantages proposed by the *Scheme*) would be a reasonable Encouragement to the Undertakers; but as it was proposed to make the Duties *perpetual*, it was a Matter of great Consequence to the City, to determine rightly in this Affair, by giving all proper Encouragement to the *Navigation*, on one Side, without laying any unreasonable Burthen upon *Trade*, on the other.

The Committee having duly (and with as much Dispatch as could be expected in an Affair of such Consequence) consider'd the Nature of *this Case*, made their Report; which was unanimously agreed to by the City; and a Petition, under the common Seal, was thereupon immediately presented to Parliament by the late Sir *Richard Grosvenor*, and refer'd to a Committee, with another Petition sign'd by the Commonalty; upon which Leave was given to bring in a Bill, for restoring the *Navigation of the said River*; but Mr. *Manley*,

Manley, the principal Promoter of *this Scheme*, (notwithstanding He had clamour'd loudly against the *corporate Body of the said City*, as well as their *Representatives*, and treated Them as Enemies to the *Navigation*, because They would not implicitly come into his Designs) had no *Bill* prepared, nor so much as *Heads of a Bill* for those Gentlemen, who were order'd to bring it into the House; upon which Account only some Weeks were lost; and when the *Bill* was deliver'd, and came to be consider'd, it appear'd very defective; expressly contradictory to the Terms agreed on by Mr. *Manley* and the *City*; extremely inconvenient to the *Trade* of some, and hazardous to the *Properties* of others, who for these Reasons became *Petitioners against it*, in order to have such proper Provisions and Restrictions in the *Bill*, as are usual in Cases of the same Nature.

The Want of these necessary Cautions occasion'd a farther Delay; but even these Difficulties might have been surmounted, and the *Bill* have pass'd, had Mr. *Kinderley* been prepared with proper Plans to describe the proposed Undertaking, or Mr. *Manley* with Undertakers, able to carry it into Execution, and make Satisfaction to the *Land-owners* for the Damages They might receive; which nobody can imagine Mr. *Kinderley* (who was at first proposed to be the only *Undertaker*) could be.

These *Reasons* and the *Clause*, that was offer'd to prevent *Jobbing of Shares*, which broke in upon the favourite Design of the *Projectors*, (as the *Principal* of Them hath admitted) occasion'd all the Delay the *Bill* met with in the House, and at last the Loss of it; tho' Mr. *Manley* and his Adherents have very unjustly imputed it to other Causes.

From this plain Representation of the Case, and the Part Mr. *Manley* hath since acted, it may be judged whether *his Scheme* was not calculated for his own *private Interest*, rather than the Service of the *City*.

Yet

Yet from this Time his publick Spirit and Affection for the People of *Chester* began to appear in *Mobs* and *Riots*. A Number of *Vagrants* and *disorderly People* were pack'd together, and encouraged to commit the greatest Outrages, being taken into regular Pay, continually kept warm with Liquors and directed to insult the Inhabitants, who would not join with Them.

The *Magistracy* of the City were abused in the grossest Manner, whilst They were endeavouring to preserve the Peace. Their *Officers* were beat in the Execution of their Duty; and *Offenders*, who were order'd to be punish'd for notorious Breaches of the Peace, were rescued out of their Hands. These Abuses were committed chiefly by *Foreigners*, encouraged and assisted, from Time to Time, by the Servants of *some Persons*, who were bound by their Duty, and the Oaths They had taken, to do all in their Power to prevent them.

It would be tedious to enumerate the several Riots in *Chester* from the Month of *April* to *August* last. Let it suffice to observe, that almost every Night some remarkable Mischief was done to the Friends of the *Grosvenor* Family, without any other Provocation, than their being such, or any Return of the same Kind, though They are by much the most substantial Part of the Inhabitants, and (as Mr. *Manley* must now be convinced) the most numerous.

Upon the Death of Sir *Richard Grosvenor*, his Brother offer'd his Service to the City, supported by above 150 Gentlemen of the neighbouring Counties, of great Figure and Fortune. He was at first oppos'd by Mr. *Warburton*; but *that Gentleman*, having try'd his Interest with the Citizens, very prudently declined to Mr. *Manley*, an Attorney; who call'd to his Assistance all the *military Gentlemen* in that Part of the Kingdom, as well as the *Custom-House*, *Excise* and *Salt-Officers*; so that the World may in some Measure judge, from the personal Circumstances of the *Candidates*, and the Appearance made in their Favour, which of Them had

had the best Pretence to ask the Votes of the Citizens, on that Occasion, and is likely to pay most Regard to their Rights and Privileges.

Mr. *Manley* had no sooner declared Himself a Candidate, but greater Abuses were committed than ever. False and scandalous Libels, reflecting on the Honour of *several Gentlemen*, were daily printed and dispersed; threatening Letters were dropt, with a Design of intimidating the *Magistrates* from doing their Duty; and scarce a Night pass'd, but many Persons were cruelly beat, Windows broken, and even the publick Buildings of the City defaced.

Numbers of Affidavits and other Vouchers could be produced, in Proof of the Premises; by which it appears, amongst other Particulars,

That there hath been a continued Course of Riots and Outrages committed in the City of *Chester*, by Mr. *Manley's* Adherents, from the Beginning of *April* last to the Election of a *Member*.

That on the 3d of *April* a great Number of Persons were assembled together, in a riotous Manner; after which They rambled through the City; insulted the *Recorder*, as He came from the Sessions in his Gown; threw a Stone at Him, and broke his Windows.

That on the 10th of *October* Mr. Alderman *Bennet* and Mr. *Brereton* wrote Letters to the *then Mayor*, to dissuade Him from calling an Assembly; at the same Time proposing *advantageous Terms* to Him and his Family, if He would comply with their Measures; from whence it appears that Mr. *Manley* and his Friends have but little Reason to complain of *Corruption*.

That the same Night *two or three of the Aldermen* waiting at the * *Pentice* for the *Mayor*, in order to compound the Frizage of Wine with a Merchant of the said City, a great Number of the Rioters were as-

Vo L. X.

O

sembled

* *The City-Hall, where publick Business is done.*

sembled together, arm'd with Clubs and other Weapons; that the *Aldermen*, for their Safety, having secured the Doors of the *Pentice*, the said Rioters burst them to Pieces; broke the Windows and Window-Frames of the said *Pentice*, with all the Chairs, Tables and Clock belonging to it; threaten'd to murder the said *Magistrates*, and threw an *Halbert* at one of Them with such Force, that it struck five Inches into a Leather Chair; that a *certain, honourable Colonel*, with several Officers and other Gentlemen, in Mr. *Manley's* Interest, came into the *Pentice*, during these Disorders, without endeavouring to prevent them; on the contrary, *one of the Officers* declared That was nothing to what should happen the Night following, when 150 Men should be kill'd.

That after the Rioters had demolish'd the *Pentice*, They paraded through the City, insulting the Inhabitants; threatening to murder several Gentlemen, who appear'd in the Interest of the *Grosvenor* Family; and that They frequently went arm'd, in Search of Them.

That on the 11th of *October* a great Number of People came out of *Wales* and the Towns adjacent to the City; many of whom were *Freemen*; that some came to the *Market*, and others to see an *Horſe-Race*, which was advertised to be run on that Day on the *Roodee*; that They came into the City in a peaceable Manner, with nothing but *Sticks*, or *Whips* in their Hands, and only shouting a *Grosvenor*; that They abused nobody till They were attack'd by Mr. *Manley's* Party, whom They soon defeated, and then immediately dispersed to their Quarters, without doing the least Mischief.

It ought to be remark'd, in this Place, that all the Avenues of the Town were beset by Mr. *Manley's* Party, and none were suffer'd to come into the City, who were in the *Grosvenor* Interest; so that it would have been impracticable for 150 *Freemen*, who came in with this Body, to have enter'd the City, without the

the utmost Hazard of their Lives, if They had not taken this Opportunity of doing it; and yet the Letter-writer in the *Courant* hath the consummate Molesty to call This by the Name of *Rebellion*!

By the same Vouchers and Affidavits it likewise appears that a great Number of the Rioters assembled together in the *Castle*, with Mr. *Manley* and a *military Officer* at their Head, who encouraged Them to push open the *Storehouse* Door to fetch out Arms to fight against the *Welshmen*; which They accordingly did in the Presence of *those Gentlemen*, and several of Them return'd, arm'd with *Steel-Caps*, *Body-Pieces*, *Swords*, *Daggers* and *other Weapons*; that in the Afternoon, the said Mob, thus arm'd, went out of the *Castle*; when a *certain Gentleman* was heard to give Them Orders to cut the *Welshmen* to Pieces, if They would not go out of the City by fair Means; that a great Number of the Citizens and others were so dangerously wounded by the said Mob, that their Lives were despair'd of, and many of Them will never recover the Use of their Limbs.—*N. B.* Several *Soldiers*, or *Penfioners*, belonging to the *Castle of Chester*, were amongst the Rioters.

That Mr. *Manley* appear'd several Times in the Streets at the Head of the Mob, arm'd with *broad Swords* and *other Weapons*; whilst Mr. *Grosvenor* and his Friends were using their utmost Endeavours to prevent these Disorders, and at last procured the *printed Preliminaries* to be sign'd, as it is confess'd in the *Courant*.

After This, it was hoped that the Peace of the City would have been restored; but notwithstanding *these Articles*, the Rioters continued their Insolence, during the *Election*; and it was dangerous for any Body, in the *Grosvenor* Interest, to stir out in the Night Time.

On the 12th of *October* two Troops of Dragoons, that were quarter'd at *Warrington*, march'd to *Chester*

and halted near the Suburbs of the City. On Notice of their Arrival, the *Mayor* and *Recorder* wrote a Letter to the *commanding Officer*, desiring his Assistance and Protection; upon which *that Gentleman* express'd his Concern to hear of any Disorders in the City; but said He could not give the *Magistrates* any direct Answer, till He had received some Instructions from the *Secretary at War*, which he expected by that Night's Post, and therefore desired to see the Messenger the next Day. He then told Him that He could not enter the City, without an Order from Colonel *Cholmondeley*, the Governor of the Castle, under whose Command He then was. Colonel *Cholmondeley*, being apply'd to the next Day for the same Purpose, excused Himself by saying, that He thought it was in the Power of the Gentlemen, who had sign'd the *Preliminaries*, to preserve the Peace; and so the Troops return'd the Day after to their Quarters at *Warrington*.

It is very evident from the Orders, which *this Officer* received, either that the Forces in publick Pay are of no Service at all in quelling of *Riots* and *Disorders*; or that They are to protect and serve the Turn of *one Party* only.

On *Monday, Oct. 16*, (being the last Day of Election for *Mayor*) when Mr. Alderman *Bennet* and Mr. Alderman *Mainwaring*, who stood Candidates for that Office, had done polling, the Mob grew more outrageous than They had been the Day before; and great Numbers of Freemen apprehended Themselves in so much Danger, that They durst not venture out of their Houses to give their Votes; notwithstanding which there was a Majority for Mr. Alderman *Johnson* (who was supported by the *Grosvenor* and *Country Interest*) of 238 Votes. This Disappointment to Mr. *Manley's* Party made Them still more desperate. They determin'd to have a *Mayor* of their own, and carried Alderman *Bennet* in a Chair from the Hustings to his House, as if He had been actually chosen. The Poll

Poll being, in the mean Time, clos'd and the Court adjourn'd, Mr. *Mayor*, the *Recorder* and *other Magistrates*, for the Security of their Persons, got into a Coffee-house; where They endeavour'd, with the *Constables* and *civil Officers*, to preserve the Peace; but the *Rioters* were so harden'd, that They beat the *Officers*; forced open the Doors of the Coffee-house; took the *Mayor's Staff* out of his Hand, and broke it; forced the *Sword* and *Mace* out of the Hands of the *Officers*, who had the Custody of them, and carried them in Triumph to Mr. Alderman *Bennet's* House, where they remain'd that Night.

At this Election great Numbers of *Officers*, in different Branches of the *Revenue*, as well as *common Soldiers*, were detach'd from every Quarter of the Kingdom; and it may be thought somewhat extraordinary that They should all be so very unanimous as to vote for Mr. *Manley*, against the common Consent of their Fellow-Citizens and the Interest, which most of their Relations serv'd; but when *some Officers in the publick Revenue* were threaten'd with the Loss of their Bread; when *Others*, whose Families have long been supported by the *Grosvener's*, and were at that Time daily receiving Wages from Them, were expressly order'd to go 150 Miles to vote against Them, under Pain of *disobeying Orders*; when *Others*, who had been in the Service and discharged, were forced away from their Friends and guarded, under Pretence of their being *Deserters*, or *new-listed*; when these Things, I say, are duly consider'd, the Unanimity of *these poor People* is not at all surprizing; but it is surely an Instance of the Inconveniences, which already arise from the present Number of *Crown-Officers*, civil and military, and of the great Danger, to which our *Liberties* may be expos'd by any farther Increase of Them.

On the second Day of Election for *Member*, the Mob discover'd the same Inclination to Riots, which

They had done at the former Election for *Mayor*, and being assembled in a great Body, They march'd in a tumultuous Manner through the City, arm'd with *Barrel-staves*, in the Form of Faulchions, and with large Sticks, thro' the Heads of which *Spike-nails* were driven, that stuck out above an Inch, assailing the *Constables*, commission'd by the *Magistracy* to prevent Disorders, without any Sort of Provocation; but by the Resolution of *those Officers*, the Rioters were over-power'd; their desperate Arms taken from Them; and dispersed. — This, I suppose, was another Instance of *Rebellion!*

From that Time, the Peace of the City was preserved with much Difficulty, to the great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants; who, having the Freedom of polling without Danger to their Persons, Mr. *Grosvenor* had a Majority of *Resiants* of 166, and of Voters in general of 361; from whence it appears that the Interest of the *Grosvenor* Family in the City of *Chester* never appear'd to greater Advantage than in *this Election*, notwithstanding the extraordinary Measures, that were taken to destroy it.

It ought to be observed that many of the *Constables*, appointed at Mr. *Manley's* Request, upon the late Election of *Mayor*, were so far from preserving, or endeavouring to preserve the Peace of the City, that They frequently join'd the *Rioters*, and encouraged Them to commit the most outrageous Insults; for which Reason, it was found necessary, upon the late Election of a *Member*, to appoint other Persons in their Room, to prevent the like Disorders, as well as a greater Number than was constituted at the *Mayor's* Election, who were by no Means able to oppose a *mercenary and arm'd Mob*, encouraged to commit the greatest Cruelties.

During the late Election, the Mob was out of Measure insolent not only to the *Constables*, but to all the *Magistrates* of the City, who with great Temper bore ~~in their~~

their ill Treatment, to prevent if possible any Disorders, till the *Constables* were attack'd in the Manner aforesaid, and laid under the Necessity of opposing and disarming the *Rioters*, for the Safety of Themselves and the rest of the Citizens; and it is manifestly owing to the Caution of the *Mayor*, in appointing a sufficient Number of *Constables* to preserve the Peace, that the City was not, at the late Election of a *Member*, in the same unhappy Circumstances, which it was in at the Election of a *Mayor*.

R.

I am, SIR, &c.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Dear Caleb,

THE PENSION-BILL being again brought into the *House of Commons*, and likely to pass with the same Unanimity that it hath *three Times* already; We hope it will meet with better Success than it hath hitherto done in the *other House*, and that future Ages will be secured from the Dangers of *Corruption within Doors*, by the united Voice of the whole Legislature.

In the mean Time, give me Leave to make one Remark on an *elegant Speech*, lately publish'd in the *daily Courant*, and said to be spoken, last Winter, on that Occasion, by an *honourable Gentleman in the House of Commons*. It must be confess'd that all the late Writers in that Paper are very *arch*, though a little apt to blunder; but there seems to be somewhat in the *Speech-maker* much *Archer*; and if I had the Privilege of sporting with Knighthood, like our renowned King *James the first*, who conferr'd that Honour on a *Loin of Beef*, I would dignify Him with the Appellation of *Sir Archer*.

Your old Friend, and Correspondent,

C.

BOB. SHORT.

SATURDAY,



N^o 348. SATURDAY, *March 3, 1732-3.*

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



YOU have already consider'd the Case of EXCISES, with Regard to the Practice of HOLLAND, and expos'd the Arguments of the *ministerial Writers* on that Head, by shewing the different Circumstances of the two Nations; notwithstanding which, They still insist upon it, in Favour of their *Scheme*, and have endeavour'd to strengthen it with another Instance of the same Kind in the Republick of VENICE. This is the chief Argument of a late Pamphlet, intitl'd, *The genuine Thoughts of a Merchant, &c.* But I will defy the Author to shew that the *Officers*, in either of those States, are vested with any such exorbitant Powers, as are lodg'd in Them here by the *Stat. 10 Geo. I.* and other *Excise Laws*; or charged with such a Number of Rules, tending to the Molestation of the People, under the severest Penalties, as are prescribed to Them by the *said Act*,

Let us therefore draw a Comparison between the *Excises* in those *Commonwealths* and in *this Kingdom*; and as it may happen to be the last Time that you, Mr. D'Anvers, will be allow'd to speak with Freedom on this Subject, I hope you will not refuse it a Place in your Paper.

The *Officers of Excise*, in those Countries, are empower'd only to collect the Duties, and not allow'd to harass the People afterwards; whereas *our Excisemen* may put the Trader to infinite Trouble and Vexation, after

after the *Crown* is fully satisfy'd ; which often proves of worse Consequence to Him than paying *double the Duty*.

The *Dutch Excisemen* have no Power of entering and searching Houses as the *English* have, by the Acts before-mention'd.

The *Officers* in *Holland* are not appointed by the *Stadtholder*, nor in *Venice* by the *Doge* ; but in *England* They are nominated by the *King*, and removable at his Pleasure.

In *Holland* and *Venice*, the Duties collected by *Excise* are intirely apply'd to the publick Service of the respective States ; whereas, in *England*, great Part of the *Fines* and *Forfeitures* comes into the Pockets of the *Crown Officers*, and for that Reason tempts Them to oppress the Subject.

Besides, in *England* not only the *Officers*, but likewise the *Judges* of all Offences against the *Laws of Excise* are appointed by the *Crown*, which is to have a large Share of the *Excise* itself ; whereas in *Holland* and *Venice* Those, who appoint the *Officers of the Revenue*, and Those, who are the *Judges* of Offences against *Excise Laws*, have not the least Gain from *Fines* and *Forfeitures* ; but the whole Produce of the Revenue belongs to the Commonwealth.

Holland hath been particularly cited by the *learned Advocates for Excises* as an Example, which ought to be follow'd in *Great Britain*. I will therefore acquaint Them with another Circumstance in the Government of *that State*, which seems to have escap'd their Knowledge, and, if follow'd here, would overturn their whole System of Reasoning on this Subject. The *provincial States of Holland* meet four Times a Year certain, and oftner, as Occasion requires. During the Interval of their Sessions, or what We call the Recess of Parliament, a *Committee of State* sits continually, and calls Them together, upon extraordinary Occasions, as They see Cause. At the same Time with the *Summons*, They likewise

likewise send a *Particular of the Heads*, which are to be debated by the *Assembly*; to the End that the Council of every City, taking the Matter into Consideration amongst Themselves, may give such Orders therein to their *respective Deputies* as They judge proper; no Business being to come under the Deliberation of the *provincial States*, without first giving Notice of it to each City. — But our *worthy Advocates for Excises* are pleased to contend that the Cities and Boroughs of *Great Britain*, which have a Right of sending *Representatives* to Parliament, are guilty of Sedition, in giving their *Proxies* Instructions to oppose any farther Extension of the *Excise Laws*, though They are all unanimous in their Opinion that it will tend to the Destruction of their *Trade*, the Loss of their *Liberties*, and the Subversion of the *British Constitution*. Nay, the old *Court-Party* of ABHORRERS, which was so justly branded by Parliament, in the Reign of King *Charles the second*, begins to revive and menace us, with the profound *Mrs. Osborne* at their Head.

Let us now consider the Government of *VENICE*; where the *Duke*, though the chief Magistrate of the State, is almost destitute of any Power, as a Governor; being little more than a *Pageant of State*. He is so far from being a Gainer by *that Dignity*, that it is esteem'd burthensome to Him, his Income not being equal to the Expences, which are necessary to support it; and besides He may be call'd to Account by the *Seignory*, if They have Grounds to suspect Him of any Design against the Liberties of the State. — The *King of Great Britain*, on the other Hand, hath not only a *Civil-List* for the Support of his royal Household, which is thought to be already near *one Million per Annum*, but is also intrusted with the Disposition of the *publick Revenues*. The *Judges, Magistrates* and other *Officers of the Kingdom*, both civil and military, are in his Nomination, and most of Them removeable at his Pleasure. He likewise appoints and translates my Lords the *Bishops*. In short,
almost

almost every Branch of our Government adds to the *Power of the Crown*, and nothing can ever restrain it from becoming *absolute*, but the personal Virtues of the *Prince*, and the Continuance of a *free and uncorrupt Parliament*.

The *Venetians* are great Enemies to *Bribery*, as well as severe Punishers of it when discover'd ; and the *Duke* Himself pays a larger Proportion of *all Tax* than any other Person.

The Governments of *Venice* and *Holland* are therefore in no Danger from an *Excise*, under the Circumstances and Restrictions beforemention'd.

I am inform'd that the *Excises* in FRANCE are under much the same Regulations, with Regard to the *Officers*, who have no Power of *entering and searching Houses* ; so that, if This be true, our boasted *Land of Liberty* is in a worse Condition, on this Account, than even the arbitrary Kingdom of *France*, or perhaps any Nation in the World.

Arch-bishop *Tillotson* observes of the *Romish Religion*, *that it were better to have no Religion than one, that tends to the Oppression of Mankind* ; and may it not with equal Reason be said of Government ; *better to have none than one, which tends to the Ruin of the People, instead of their Protection* ? — Would it not be extremely severe, nay even tyrannical, if *Taxes* should be so collected, as to destroy the very End of raising them ; *viz.* the Preservation of the People in their *Trade, Rights and Liberties* ?

But We are told by the *Advocates for Power*, that the *Merchants* shall have greater Encouragement by an *Excise* than They now enjoy ; and the Fetters shall be so nicely prepared and fitted to the Legs of *Retailers*, that They will be in Love with them and verify the Prediction of our *present, excellent Laureat*, in his *Birth-Day Ode*,

And baughty Britons bug their Chains.

These

These Writers speak to the Merchants and Traders exactly in the Strain of Lockit to Captain Mackbeath, whilst one of the Turnkeys is fastening the Irons to his Legs. — Do but examine them, Sir. — Never was better Work, — How genteely they are made? — They'll sit as easy as a Glove, and the nicest Man in England need not be ashamed to wear them.

But surely the Merchants are the best Judges themselves, in Cases of this Nature. It is downright Popery in Politicks, to call Chains and Incumbrances on Trade Liberty and Encouragement. The People of Great Britain are not yet blind; and it happens a little unlucky for the Projector, that all of Them, who are not visibly sway'd by Interest, are united in their Opinion of *this Scheme*, and their Opposition to it.

With Regard to the Merchant-Importers, if it could be so managed, that the Burthen should not fall directly upon Them; would not the Oppression of the Retailers ultimately affect the Merchants? Can They sell their Goods without giving Credit to the Retailers; and if the Retailers are put to extraordinary Hardships and Expences does not This tend to impoverish Them, and consequently render Them unable to pay the Merchant?

Let us now take a short View of the Scheme of Excises, as the modest Author of the *genuine Thoughts* hath stated it, with Regard to the *publick Revenue*. He tells us, Page 27, *that the Loss in the Duties on Wine and Tobacco does not fall far short of 12d. in the Pound upon Land; and that all the Frauds upon these Articles will be prevented, if the Retailer pays the Duty*; meaning by an Excise. If this ill-grounded Fiction (for so it is) were really true, near 500,000 *l.* per Ann. would be advanced by an Excise on Wine and Tobacco; but a great Part of the Duties on these Commodities being appropriated to the Use of the Crown, the Revenue of the Civil-List would be considerably increased by such an Alteration, and the Publick would have only a Part of this Advance. The Insinuation therefore

therefore that an *Excise* would produce an Equivalent to 12*d.* in the Pound on Land is a fallacious Argument; and I am persuaded that the *Author* had no Direction to say, nor indeed does He say, that the *whole Advance of the Duty by an Excise*, should it be really advanced, will accrue to the *Publick*. Now if the *Crown* should gain a large Advance to its Revenue, by the Execution of *this Scheme*, as well as an Addition of Power, by an *Increase of Officers*; might it not prove dangerous to our Constitution?—The Safety of *Europe* is preserved only by a *due Balance of Power*. The Safety of all *free Governments* is founded on the same *Equilibrium*, by which only it can be preserved; and if the *Power of the Crown*, in this Nation, should ever out-weigh the *Power of the People*; will not a *bad Prince* be able, at Pleasure, to invade and destroy the *Rights of the People*?—Is not the *Power of the Crown* as great, or greater, at this Time, than it hath been for some Ages past?—Is not the *Civil-List Revenue* vastly larger now than it was in former Reigns?—Nay, even in the very Case, now under Debate, let it be consider'd whether the People of *Great Britain* have too much Power. They have concurr'd, almost universally, in their Declarations against *this Project*, without any Regard to *Party-Distinctions*, or *Differences in Religion*. They have requested their *Representatives*, in the most earnest Manner, to oppose it; and no Instance can be produced from our History, in which the People were more vigorously united, without coming to Violence, than on this Occasion. Yet notwithstanding this general Abhorrence of the People, so fully manifested, against any farther *Excise*, the *Scheme* is still pursued, and the *Projector* hath declared his Resolution to make an Attempt on their *Representatives*, to put Them under *this Yoke*.—Doth not This shew that the united Strength of the *whole People* is very inconsiderable in his Eyes; nay, even so weak as not to have sufficient Influence on their *own Representatives* to oppose a

VOL X. P Design,

Design, which they dread as a Pestilence? And if a Majority of Them should be induced to establish it, in direct Opposition to *Those*, whom They represent, and from whom only They derive their Power; will it not amount to a melancholy Demonstration that the People of *Great Britain* do not abound with too much Power, even at this Time; or rather that the *Balance of Power* is already too much against Them?—Will not every Addition to the *Revenue of the Crown* give an Addition to the *Power of the Crown*?—Will not every Addition of *Taxes*, paid by the *People* to the *Crown*, diminish *pro tanto* the Riches of the *People*, and the Power of the *People*?—Will not every new Levy and Increase of *Officers* add likewise to the *Power of the Crown*, and the *Influence of the Crown*, over the *Representatives of the People*, even in the Election of *those Representatives*?—So that which Way soever an *Excise* be consider'd, it will be found pernicious to the *People*, and dangerous to our *Constitution*.

The loyal Author of *the genuine Thoughts* seems very angry that We should take the Liberty to mention the *Crown*, in so invidious a Manner; and tells us that, in a *Revolution-Government*, the *Crown signifies no more than the Constitution, or the executive Power of the Laws*. This I readily admit; but how it can serve his Purpose, I am at a Lo's to guess; for the *Revolution* was certainly founded on the Principles of *Liberty*, and with a Design of abridging the Power of the *Crown*, not of increasing it; whereas it can be proved that the *Crown* is already possess'd of more Power than it enjoy'd under any of the *Stuarts*, and that the Project of *extending the Excise Laws* hath a direct Tendency to make it absolute.

Since therefore it must be allow'd by all the *Advocates for this Scheme*, that there is no immediate Necessity for it; both the *Publick* and the *Crown* having as much *Revenuc*, at present, as a Time of *Peace* can be reasonably thought to require; since it is found by Experience

Perience that the Method of collecting *Duties* on foreign Goods by *Excise* hath been extremely grievous to the People, and, by impoverishing Them, tends to make Them burthenfome on the *landed Interest*, for their necessary Support; since *this Method* hath proved ineffectual to prevent *Frauds* and *Smuggling* in several Commodities, already *excised*; and, if it should have the proposed Effect, may destroy that *Ballance of Power*, which is necessary to support the *Constitution*; since it gives the *Officers* an exorbitant Power of depriving any Subject, at Pleasure, of his lawful Trade, by *arbitrary Fines*, and thereby influences the People in their Votes for proper Persons to *represent Them in Parliament*; since the *Excises*, lately imposed, have already kindled great Heats and Animofities in a vast Number of his Majesty's Subjects, and the farther Extension of them will in Proportion spread those Animofities to many more; since the best Security of his Majesty resides in the Hearts and Affections of his People, who have declared the most dreadful Apprehensions from any *farther Excise*; and since nothing is more dangerous than to sow the Seeds of Discontent, which are apt to grow fast enough of their own Accord; it is hoped, for all these Reasons, that any *Scheme*, or *Proposal* of *this Nature*, will be rejected to the Joy and Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom.

I am, S I R, &c.

D. R.

PHILELEUTHERUS BRITANNICUS.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THAT you may leave nothing untouch'd, which concerns the Subject of *Excises*, I shall take Notice of some new Things, that are started every

Dav, by the *Creatures of Power*. How can any Body, say *They*, be so unreasonable as to oppose a *Scheme*, the Intention of which is to lay the Duties, already enacted, equilly upon all the Consumers? For Instance, in the two Commodities, *Wine* and *Tobacco*, the first Fruits of the *general Scheme*, it is evident that they are not raised over the Island in Proportion to, their Consumption; for of near 700,000*l.* the Produce of the Duties upon *Wine* and *Tobacco*, SCOTLAND pays hardly 4000*l.* upon their *Tobacco*; and though there is more *French Wine*, perhaps, imported into *Scotland* than into *England*, the Amount of That is but a very inconsiderable Sum; whereas their Consumption of *Wine* and *Tobacco* is at least a seventh Part of That of the whole Island. They tell us, that we have been always complaining that the Revenue of *Scotland* brings in little or nothing to the Publick, and at the same Time find Fault with a *Scheme*, which will certainly improve it; for if the Duty upon *Wine* and *Tobacco* should bring in, by a rigorous Exaction of the Tax, *one Million*, *Scotland* must pay above 140,000*l.* yearly towards it. I freely own that I have no other Answer to make to this Argument at present, than that the *Scots* Gentry and Nobility, with whom I have the Honour to be acquainted, have assured Me that their Country cannot bear such an *additional Burthen*; that it is impossible to wean the better Sort of People from the Use of *Wine*, and the People in general from the Use of *Tobacco*, till by the Scarcity of Specie They have not a Penny left to pay for either; and that They have had sufficient Proof of This from the Manners of their People. It would be very impertinent in Me to judge of the State of *Scotland* better than their own People and Members; and I shall begin to suspect my Information, if They should both acquiesce under *this Imposition*, and can easily pay a yearly Sum of 140,000*l.* without hurting their Country. I can only say in general of *Excises* upon Commodities, which by Necessity or Habit are of universal

N^o 349. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 173

universal Consumption, that by a rigorous Exaction they must be very unequal in Countries, where there is a less Plenty, and a much smaller Circulation of Specie; and if they are upon *Home-Commodities*, the Rate of them must change, according to the local Price of the Commodities *excised*. To lay *equal Shares* of a Burthen upon Creatures of *unequal Strength* is bad Mechanicks; and yet This must be the Consequence of *such a Scheme*; for the *Scots* cannot have any Pretence from the *Articles of the Union* to desire any Exemption from a general Tax, laid for the *Supply of the Government*. I will say no more; for the *Excise*, at present, is like the *Italian Game of Cinque*. The *great Man* hath his right Hand under his left Arm. He may bring out one, two, three, four Fingers, his Palm quite open, or quite shut, as he pleaseth.

C.

I am, S I R, &c.



N^o 349. SATURDAY, *March 10, 1732-3.*



H E N a Debate arises concerning any great Point of Government, which hath ever been controverted before, it is natural for the contending Parties on both Sides to strengthen their respective Arguments with the Authorities of Those, who preceded Them, and exhaust all the Learning They can find extant on the same Subject. But in our late Disputes about *Excises*, the concurrent Testimonies of all the best Writers in this Kingdom, ever since *that Word* was first naturalized amongst us, appear on *one Side*, and the *ministerial Writers* have been very much

puzzled to find any Authorities in their Favour. They have been forced to spin their main Arguments out of their own Brains, and oppose those Cobwebs to the strong Texture of *Locke*, *Hampden*, and other masterly Writers. It hath often moved my Compassion to see Them in such Distress, and even inclined Me to give Them an helping Hand. For this Purpose, I have long had an Intention of pointing out a little Piece in the *State Tracts*, which I thought might be of Service to Them; but having been hitherto prevented in the Execution of so generous a Design, I find myself, in some Measure, anticipated by the Author of *the genuine Thoughts*, who hath enrich'd his Performance with several Quotations from *that Treatise*, concerning the Method of Taxation in *Holland* and *Venice*. I wonder, indeed, that He should conceal the Title, (*TAXES NO CHARGE*) which would of itself do Credit to his Party, and ought to be inserted in their Code of *political Paradoxes*. It sounds very much like the Expression of the *mad Taylor* in the Play; *snip goe the Sheers, and the Cloth is never the shorter*. *Excises* are a Sort of *political Sheers*, which cut off something from every Man's Property, and yet nobody, according to *these Writers*, is a Sufferer by them.

This courtly Piece was publish'd soon after the *Revolution*, and written with a Design of reconciling the People to those Methods of Taxation, which were thought necessary at that Time. In order to This, the Author proposes to shew *the Nature, Use and Benefit of TAXES in this Kingdom*, and compare them with the *Impositions of foreign States; together with their Improvement of TRADE, in Time of War*.

He begins with observing that *Tribute, or as We now call it, Customs, Taxes, &c. were originally a Mark of Servitude*, being the Impositions of *Conquerors* on the *Conquer'd*; and that the *Romans* were the first People on Record, who converted these barbarous Exactions into regular and equal Taxes for the Support of civil

civil Government. This, *says He*, enabled Them to pay their Army and Ministers of State *so well, that They lay not under the Temptation of Violence, or Bribery.* So far I agree with Him; and believe no Man will grumble at any Taxes, which are necessary to keep the People from the Ravage of SOLDIERS, or the worse Exactions and Corruptions of CIVIL MAGISTRATES. But the Misfortune is, as He allows himself, *that the Romans soon became Artists in taxing the People*; and I wish their Example had never been copied by some other Nations, in the more civilized Ages of the World!

The Practice of *Holland and Venice*, with Regard to Taxes, hath been sufficiently explain'd in our last Paper; but there is one Remark on the *latter*, in the Tract now before Me, which deserves a little Notice. We are told *that the Venetians, besides great Customs upon all Merchandize, pay Excise for every Bit of Bread and Meat; nay for the very SALT They eat.* This Passage is quoted by the *Author of the genuine Thoughts*; but for what Purpose, I confess myself at a Loss to guess. A Tax upon Salt, one of the most necessary Provisions of Life, is here mention'd as the severest Imposition, that can be laid on any Nation; and in order to shew how happy the People of *England* were, at that Time, in not having any *such Tax*. But, for God sake, is That our Case at present? Do We not pay a Duty for every Grain of *Salt*, that We use, ten Times above the original Value; and can any Man of common Sense think this Circumstance of a *tyrannical Aristocracy* (for so it is) a good Argument in Behalf of the late Revival of the *Salt Duty*, or the present Scheme for extending *Excises* in this Kingdom? It is notorious that *this particular Kind of Tax* was always esteem'd a grievous Imposition, and hath occasion'd terrible Convulsions in several Nations. It was first received in *France* with great Reluctancy. In *Naples* it work'd up a desperate Insurrection; and the first Man, who introduced it amongst the ancient *Romans*, is deliver'd down to Posterity under the Name of *Salinator*;

nator ; or what may be call'd in *English*, the *Pickler of the People*.

I shall now cite some other Passages from this Treatise, which our present *ministerial Writers* have thought proper to omit.

In speaking of the Taxes in *France*, He distinguishes between them and our *English* Taxes in the following Manner,

“ *France* makes a fair Shew to the *People* ; and yet
 “ makes a better Market for the *King*. He imposes
 “ Duties, under the Pretence of the *Parliament's* laying
 “ them on the *People* ; but at the same Time it is only
 “ the *King's Word*, that makes the *Ordinance of Par-*
 “ *liament* ; not as here in *England*, where it comes last
 “ to the *King* for the royal Assent ; but there the *King*
 “ sends the *Parliament Word*, that *He will have so much*
 “ *Money*, and all the Favour They can obtain from Him
 “ is, to place it on *such Commodities*, or *Ways*, as
 “ They think most expedient.

It appears from hence that the only Advantage We enjoy above our Neighbours in *France* consists in the Difference of our *Parliaments* ; which ought to make us extremely watchful in preserving the *Independency of those Assemblies* ; for if the *Crown* should ever gain such an Ascendency as to controul the *Ordinances of Parliament*, it will be ridiculous in us to boast of any Pre-eminence. Nay, We see that even the *Parliaments of France* have the Favour of raising Money for the *King* by *such Ways and Means* as They think most expedient for the Ease of the *People* ; and That is all We contend for at present.

He pursues this Distinction still farther, and explains it by the following Particulars, which deserve the Attention of the Publick at this Time.

“ The Difference, indeed, is great in the *Modus* of
 “ our Taxes from other Kingdoms, and also in the *Use*
 “ of them. For the *Modus in other Kingdoms*, They
 “ generally consider only the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, that
 “ Impositions

“ Impositions may not touch, or affect *Them*; and
 “ care not how insupportable, or grievous, they are to
 “ the *Commonalty*. But with us, the Taxes reach every
 “ Man, in Proportion to his *Quality* and *Expence*.

“ In *other Kingdoms*, They place Taxes only to raise
 “ *Money*, and have no Regard to the *Trade* of their
 “ *Kingdoms*, that so their Taxes may not prejudice their
 “ *Commerce*. But in *England* Care is always had, that
 “ Impositions may not impede our *Trade* and *Manu-*
 “ *factories*.

“ Now as to the *Use* and *Employment* of Taxes in
 “ *other Kingdoms*, they also differ much from *ours*.

“ In some Kingdoms, they are imposed to enslave
 “ *the People*, and keep Them *poor*, as in *Muscovy*. In
 “ other Parts, Taxes are laid to *enrich the Nobility*, as
 “ in *Poland*. In others, to fill the Coffers of the *Prince*,
 “ as in *Florence*.

“ Whereas none of these Uses take up *our Taxes*.
 “ They are with great Care and Caution *laid out*, and
 “ by the same Law, that raises them, appropriated for
 “ a particular Service, and last no longer upon the Peo-
 “ ple than the *Necessity of the Nation requires*.

What a Blessing is it to this Kingdom, that We are
 so happily distinguish'd from other Nations in all these
 Particulars, relating to the *Imposition, Modus, and Use of*
Taxes? But before I congratulate my Country upon
 this glorious Condition, let us follow *our Author* a little
 farther; for He now comes to the main Design of his
 Discourse; which is to shew *that Taxes are no Charge*.

In the first Place, He tells us *that the worst Mem-*
bers of the Commonwealth, viz. the extravagant and
debauch'd, pay the greatest Part of our Taxes; and so
 far as This is true, I have no Objection to the Argu-
 ment; but He seems to carry it a little too far in the
 following Passage, which I recommend to the Confide-
 ration of Those, who contend for *Excises*, on Account
 of their *Equality*, and have been pleas'd to cavil at an
 Observation, *that Taxes, which are in Reality the most*
 burthenfome

burthenfome to the People, may become almoſt imperceptible, by being drawn from Them in ſmall Quantities.

“ It will hardly gain Belief, ſays this Writer, that there are many of the meaner People, Labourers and *Mechanicks*, who by their Expence, when They are (as too many be) extravagant, pay to the publick Taxes above *one Tenth of their daily Profit*; as, ſuppoſing that a labouring Man may earn *ſixteen Pounds a Year*, He will expend, though not very extraordinarily profuſe, one half of it in *Drink and Tobacco*; upon which the Duty of *Cuſtoms and Excife* is, at leaſt, *two Pounds of the eight*, which He lays out in *idle Expences*. Now, it would be vehemently decri’d and exclaim’d againſt, as the *greateſt Oppreſſion upon the Poor imaginable*, if by a Poll or Land-Tax this Man, that virtually pays *forty Shillings*, ſhould actually and above-board pay *ſo many Pence* by the Year.

He likewiſe obſerves, “ that ſuch a poor Man, by his little Luxury of *Beer and Tobacco*, pays ten Times as much in the Year, in Proportion to his Income, as the *greateſt Peer*.

He then endeavours to prove from the *Circulation of Taxes*, that they are of great Uſe in the *Improvement of Trade*, and the *Employment of the Poor*; whereas if it ſhould ever happen that the greateſt Part of the Money, raiſed upon the People, ſhould center in a *few Hands*, and be lock’d up in *private Coſſers*, it is demonſtrable that *Taxes* muſt have the contrary Effect, and deſtroy the *Trade of the Nation*.

But as This is the moſt curious Part of the whole Treatiſe, I am ſure my Readers will be pleaſed with ſome farther Extracts from it.

Having condemn’d all Taxes, which tend to debauch, effeminate and impoveriſh a Nation, by leſſening its *publick Stock*, or carrying away its *People*, He proceeds thus,

“ Now

“ Now in both These the TRADE OF TAXES (for
 “ so, *says He*, I will call it for the future) hath the
 “ Advantage; for it carries nothing out of the King-
 “ dom, nor yet takes off Hands, that would be better
 “ employ’d; but, on the contrary, takes away the Dis-
 “ ease of the Country, *Idlers*, and makes Them at least
 “ so profitable as to *spend Money*, which They would
 “ not be able to do, if the *publick Revenue* were not
 “ their Stock.

The *Trade of Taxes* is certainly a very proper Ex-
 pression; and it must be allow’d that it hath lately been
 the most *flourishing Trade* of any in the Kingdom; for
 if the Reader will only look into the INDEX of *Keeble’s*
Statutes, He will find no less than Ten or a Dozen large
 Columns in Folio, fill’d up with the single Article of
 TAXES; and when those Collections are continued
 down to the present Time, We shall have Reason to
 admire the prodigious Abilities of *some Gentlemen*, in ex-
 tending and improving *this Branch of our Commerce*.

“ The Poor, *continues He*, are employ’d by *Taxes*,
 “ and are by that Means taken off from being a Charge
 “ to the Kingdom. *Many Men of broken Fortunes* are
 “ brought into the HOSPITAL OF THE REVENUE,
 “ which may be so accounted, since it is generally fill’d
 “ with *Persons*, that are reduced to such Necessities as
 “ qualify Them for *Charity*.

What a *noble Hospital* is This grown, and how amply
 hath it been endow’d within a few Years past? I dare
 say, it contains at present above three Times as many
Pensioners as *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* put together. —
 He goes on;

“ This is one Way, that *Taxes* employ the *Poor*;
 “ but not the main Thing I mean; which is, that the
 “ *Trade of Taxes* employs the *poor Artizans* and *Me-*
 “ *chanicks*, and That in a greater Measure than our
 “ VIRGINIA and PLANTATION TRADE, which We
 “ with so little Reason so much boast of in these King-
 “ doms.

Methinks,

Methinks, it is very surprizing that none of the *Advocates for Excises* have yet insisted on these Arguments, which are so agreeable to the Spirit of their own Writings, and so excellently calculated to promote their *Scheme*. How gloriously might They have expatiated on the Advantages of a *general Excise*, by enlarging the *Hospital of the Revenue*, and making a Parcel of *idle Fellows* useful to the State, by enabling Them to *spend Money, without any Stock of their own?* They might likewise have taken an Occasion from hence of removing those popular Prejudices, in Favour of our *Virginia* and *Plantation-Trade*, which have possess'd a great many silly People, and recommending the *Trade of Taxes* in the Room of it, as the only beneficial and desirable Commerce in this Kingdom.—But, perhaps, They may think their *Scheme* so fully justify'd already, and in so hopeful a Way of Success, that it does not stand in Need of any farther Support.

Several other curious Observations might be drawn from the *Traet* now before Me; but at present I shall conclude with one more Passage from it, which seems a little inconsistent with some of Those already cited, and contains too just a Remark on the *present Times*, however applicable it might be to Those, in which it was written.

“ That, which I fear, is a Distraction of our
 “ Trades, Manufactories and Industry of the Nation.
 “ The Tumour of the Times looks more like the
 “ *Rising of a CAMP than Improvement of TRADE*
 “ *and COMMERCE*; most Men in Court and City
 “ pursuing *Employments*, civil or military; which I
 “ take to be an ill Omen. D.





N^o 350. SATURDAY, *March 17, 1732-3.*

At the Request of my Correspondents, I shall this Week entertain the Publick with some Remarks on the Writings of two very silly Creatures; the *occasional Financer* and *Tongue Carus*.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



S the *occasional Financer* hath thought fit to write what He calls an Answer to my Address to the *Landholders*, I shall just make a few Remarks on his Paper for the Satisfaction of all impartial Readers.

First, I must appeal to the Ears and Eyes of Mankind, who it was that first revived the insidious Distinction of the *landed* and *trading Interest*, which I shall be glad to hear of no more; for I agree with Him that our present Enquiry ought to be what is for the Interest of the whole; and I thought it obvious to every Body, that I did not object to this Project for excising *Wine* and *Tobacco*, as an additional Tax upon *Trade*, but to the grievous Method of *collecting* it. What Necessity there is for increasing the *publick Revenues*, at this Time, I shall not enquire; but must observe, that the Traders do not object to *any Taxes*, which are not collected in this gricvous Manner; nor, indeed, are They more interested than the *Landholder*; since all Taxes laid on *Commodities* must be paid by the *Consumer*.

Vol. X.

Q

The

The *Financer* then insinuates, that the Number of Purchases, made since the *Revolution*, is owing to the large *Land-Tax*, which has obliged the *Landholder* to sell, and to the *Exemption from Taxes*, which the *Traders* have enjoy'd, and which has enabld Them to buy. Upon these Topicks, I must again appeal to general Experience, whether the *Purchasers* of late Years have been principally People, who have got their Money by *Trade*, or such as have raised large Fortunes by the *publick Funds*; to which this Method of laying Taxes, and borrowing Sums upon the Produce, will give a larger Scope; or whether the Gentlemen, who have sold, have been obliged to it by the large *Land-Tax*, or by other Causes; principally by their coming to Town, and living expensively, in Hopes of getting *Places*, or *Pensions*. I must observe likewise, that this Reduction of *one Shilling in the Pound* will be a farther Advantage to the *late Purchasers*, who have included a *Land-Tax* of *two Shillings in the Pound* in all their Computations ever since the *Revolution*, and *this Excise* a farther Grievance to those unfortunate Gentlemen, who have been obliged to *sell their Estates*, and engage in some Branch of *Trade*.

The *Financer* then affects not to understand these Words; that this Project *will not answer the End*, because such Mixtures *may be sold cheaper than neat Wine*, even though they should pay the Duty; which I believe every Body but himself will understand thus; that the *Wine-Brewers* will still have a Temptation to brew, notwithstanding the *Excise*, such Liquors as will afford Them the most Profit. The *Letter from a Member of a Parliament*, lately publish'd, amongst a great many Propositions of equal Truth, says, that I allow the Advantage to the Publick, from collecting the present Duties on *Wine* and *Tobacco*, by Way of *Excise*, to amount, to 3 or 400,000*l.* whereas I did not pretend to guess at the Amount; but only propos'd, if it did amount to as much as the *Projectors* pretended,

whether

whether it would be for our *Interest*, even upon such a Consideration, to sacrifice the Liberty of so large a Number of our Fellow-Subjects.

I must once more beg the *landed Gentlemen* to consider the Danger to 'their own Liberties and Estates from this farther Extension of the *Laws of Excise*.

Consider, *Gentlemen*, how large a Number of the Burgeſſes and Freeholders of this Kingdom are already liable to be awed and influenced by the *Commissioners of Excise*; who do not as yet use their Power to the utmost, lest it should prevent the Extension of it. Consider that every new Article of Trade, made subject to the *Laws of Excise*, is one Step nearer to a *general Excise*, which the *Projector* as yet pretends to abhor; and if a *general Excise* be a formidable Evil, every Step towards it is in Proportion formidable, and renders it more practicable.

Consider, *Gentlemen*, that the Majority of the *House of Commons* are sent from *Boroughs*; and that a large Proportion of *Burgeſſes* and *Freeholders* will be Dealers in *exciseable Commodities*; whose Houses and Shops will consequently be open to *Excise Officers*, appointed by the *Crown*, and themselves liable to severe Penalties, on Account of any Blunders, or Omissions of their Servants; that, upon any publick Struggle, some through Hopes of Favour or Connivance, some through Fear of Trouble, and some perhaps from Guilt, may be induced to sacrifice the Liberty and Welfare of their Country to the Care of their private Families.

O. *I am your sincere Well-wisher, S. S.*

Some Remarks on the Courant of Wednesday, March 7, by the Author of the Letter in the Craftsman, on Saturday, March 3.

THE *daily Courant*, of *Wednesday March 7*, having made some Observations on the *Craftsman* of *Saturday*,
Q 2

Saturday, March 3, a few Words shall be offer'd in Reply to it.

In the second Paragraph of this Paper, CARUS says; "I have more than once express'd my Astonishment at the erecting this *new Tribunal*, (*meaning the PEOPLE*) to which none that I can ever meet with in History ever desired to refer themselves, but when their Cases were so bad as to be incapable of Defence before *proper Judges*."

These are his very Words; yet this same Carus intitled his own Paper of the 2d of February last, "*A Review of the Dispute concerning EXCISES; addressed to the PEOPLE of Great Britain*;" and began "it thus; FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN."

But because the *People* will not regard the Address of an *Author*, of such insane Mind and Memory as his Papers prove him to be, he calls Them a *Mob*, and says *Reasonings are out of the Way of the Multitude*.

Now, if all Causes are *bad*, which are refer'd to the *Tribunal of the People*, does not This prove that the Cause of the *Excise*, which Carus himself has refer'd to the People, must be *bad*? And as to *Reasoning*, if That be *out of the Way of the Multitude*, there never was a *Writer* better adapted to Them than Carus is.

Carus says, that "*Declamations will not, and Facts and close Arguments, founded upon FACTS, are alone what will be weigh'd in Debates in Parliament*."

In This We agree with Carus; and Carus does not pretend that any one of the *Facts*, in the *Craftsman* before-mention'd, is false; but finding that *these Facts* will not serve his Purpose, he coins a scandalous Position out of his own Brain, alledging that the "*Craftsman endeavours to shew the Expediency of reducing the Prerogative of the Crown within as narrow Bounds as That of the Duke of Venice*."

Indeed, Mr. Carus, if you take such Liberties of misrepresenting, you may be glad to be taken for an *Irishman*,

Irishman, a *Bæotian*, or a *Vandal*; for no Country will be fond of owning a Wretch, so regardless of *Truth*, and prone to *Blundering*.

The *Craftsman* never mention'd, in any of his Papers, the Government of *Holland*, or *Venice*, but in Answer to the *Advocates for Excises*; who, alledging the Examples of those Commonwealths, without any Danger to the Liberties of the People, it became necessary for the *Craftsman* to shew the Nature of *those Governments*, and to explain the Differences of *Excises* there from those in our *own Country*.

However, the *Craftsman* was so far from recommending the Governments of *Holland*, or *Venice*, to our Imitation, that he expressly insists upon it, that the Government of *Great Britain* ought to be preserved by a Balance of Power between the *King* and the *People*; and all the Arguments in *that Paper* are framed for the Vindication and Support of *that Balance*, as absolutely necessary for the Conservation of the *British Constitution*.

Mr. *D'Anvers* has in no Paper asserted that the People of *Holland*, or *Venice*, had greater Liberty than the People of *England*, by their Constitution. In the Defence of these just Rights and Liberties, Mr. *D'Anvers* hath contended with great Vigour. The People have concurr'd with him in it, and I hope will continue to do it, with a true *British* Spirit, by all *lawful Methods*.

Mr. *D'Anvers* has shewn that, by our Constitution, the People are more free than in *Holland*, or *Venice*; as both these Commonwealths are destitute of the Privilege of *Juries*, which is the greatest Security that any People can have against arbitrary Power; but has observed that *Juries* are taken away by the *Laws of Excise*, and some *other Laws*, lately establish'd amongst us.

Carus admits that the Governments of *Holland* and *Venice* are rightly stated in the *Craftsman*; but He

says, that *Inconveniences have sometimes attended the consulting every particular Town on every Matter, that is debated in the Provincial Assembly, and says, that he can alledge Instances of it.*

But suppose He should be able to do This, in some Instances, does it follow that because, in some Respects, such Consultations may be *inconvenient*, that therefore they can be, in no Respect, *necessary or expedient*? Is it good arguing to infer a *Universal* from a *Particular*? Does it follow, that because it may sometimes be mischievous to Them, by Reason of Delay or otherwise, to consult *every Town*, that therefore the *Towns*, which are represented, ought, in no Respect, to be consulted by *Those*, whom They send to represent Them? Or, to come nearer to the Point in Debate, does it follow that because, in some Cases, the Dissent of a *single Town* may be mischievous, that therefore no Regard is to be had to the *unanimous Instructions of all the seven Provinces*, as well as of all the *great Cities and Towns* in those States? or that the *Deputies* ought to be at Liberty of acting contrary to such *united Instructions*?

Let us now consider the Constitution of *Great Britain*.—Let us suppose that the Representatives of a *single Town* are not tyed down to the *Instructions, or Orders of that particular Town*, in their Votes in Parliament; will it follow that the united Sense of *all the Counties, Cities, Boroughs and Towns in the Kingdom*, which send Members to Parliament, should be rejected as of no Weight, or Consideration with Those, who represent them?

Though a Representative is chosen by some *one County, City or Town*, and is particularly obliged to consult the Interest of; it; yet it must be admitted that he is a Representative of the *People in general*; that the *House of Commons* are the Trustees for the whole Kingdom, and that the *People* are the *Principals*, from whom They derive their Authority; so that although the Interest of a *particular County, City or Borough*, is
not

not to be prefer'd to the *common Good of the Kingdom in general*; yet still it must be admitted that the *common Good of the Kingdom in general* is to be regarded by every Representative; and tho' the Instructions of a *particular County, City, or Town*, ought not to prevail against the Instructions of *all the rest of the Kingdom*, or against the *common Good of the Kingdom*; yet when the Nation in general concurs in one and the same Thing, as They have done against any *farther Extension of the Excise Laws*, this Voice of the whole People, who are represented, this Judgment of the whole People, by whom all the *House of Commons* are elected, from whom the *whole House* derives its Authority, may and ought to be consider'd, as of very great Weight; and undoubtedly it will have a proper Influence on Them, in their Resolutions upon this Head.

Does not almost every *Speech from the Throne* recommend such Measures to be taken, as may be most consistent with the *Ease of the People*? Does not the Preamble of almost every *Act of Parliament* declare the Design of the *new Law* to be of some *Benefit, or Convenience to the People*? For what Purpose are the *People* represented; for what Purpose did the *People* formerly pay Wages to their *Members*, but that They might have Regard to the *People*, as their *Deputies*, and act for their Benefit? It seems to be plainly intended by our Constitution, that every Member should have a peculiar and special Regard for his *own County, City or Borough*, as far as it is consistent with the *common Good and Benefit of the whole Kingdom*. In the present Affair, as the People in general seem unanimously agreed that any *farther Extension of the Excise Laws* will be ruinous to *Them* and their *Families*, destructive to their *Trade*, their *Liberties*, and even to the *Constitution* itself, there can be no great Doubt what ought to be done by Those, who represent Them. But we insist upon it that, by the Constitution of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, the *Representatives of the People* ought not to be under the least Influence of the *Crown*; and that if any *Minister* should ever attempt to invade the *Freedom of Parliaments*, (which God forbid!) He ought to be stigmatised as an Enemy to his Country, and a Sower of Discord between the *King* and his *People*.

D. R.

PHILELEUTHERUS BRITANNICUS.

P. S. At a Parliament holden 9 *Edward III.* when a Motion was made for a *Subsidy* to be granted of a *new Kind*, the rest of the Commons answer'd, that They would have a Conference with Those of their *several Countries and Places*, who had put Them in Trust, before They treated of any such Matter.

Rot. Parl. 9. Ed. III. No. 5.

So that our *British Constitution* has, in this Case, admitted the like Method as in *Holland*; that the Representatives would not, in Case of a *new Subsidy*, agree to it, without the Consent of the People They represented; and the Practice of Parliaments has usually been, as we apprehend, for our Representatives, in all Matters of a *new Nature*, and of *great Consequence*, to consult Those, whom They represent, upon it, as well as for the People to petition against any *Bill*, which They apprehend dangerous to their *Property* or *Liberty*; especially where the Constitution appears to be concern'd.

Shortly will be Publish'd,

Printed on a *superfine*, Mourning Paper (Price thirteen-pence Half-penny.)

A *Very long, curious and extraordinary* SERMON,
preach'd on WEDNESDAY last at a NOTED
 CHAPPEL in Westminster, from these Words of
St.

N^o 351. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 189

St. Luke, Chap. 2d. Ver. 1st. And it came to pass, in those Days, that a DECREE went out, that all the World should be TAXED. *With some practical Observations and Uses suited to the present Times.* By ROBERT VYNER, D. D. and RECTOR of the said Chappel.

Printed for HUMPHRY FITZ-DRUG, at his Office in the OLD JEWRY.



N^o 351. SATURDAY, *March 24, 1732-3.*



THE Nature of *Excises* hath been very amply discuss'd already by the *Writers on both Sides*; but it hath open'd so copious a Field of Matter, that there will always be something left to glean up; especially after such foul Workmen as the *Advocates for this Project*.—— I shall therefore, in this Paper, throw together such miscellaneous Observations on the same Subject, as occur to Me at present, without any regular Method, or Order.

When this Controversy first began, our *Adversaries* charged us with dressing up an imaginary *Phantom*, or *Scarecrow*, to frighten the People, without any Grounds; and the *great Projector* himself was pleased to give out amongst his Creatures, that when it was Time to draw the Curtain, He would shew us a most *beautiful young Virgin*, fair as *Venus* and chaste as *Diana*, whom no Body could forbear admiring; but as far as He hath thought fit to reveal her already, She appears to be the same *ugly, deform'd Monster*, that She was represented at first; a ravenous Beast of Prey, like the *Harpies* of old, who were said to live partly by *Land*, and partly by *Water*, polluting every Thing they touch'd with their unhallow'd Talons, and devouring the Victuals of the

the poor Inhabitants, that happen'd to come in their Way.—But let us speak without an Allegory.

Upon comparing the *present Scheme*, as far as it hath been open'd to us, with the *Project*, which We have encounter'd for several Months past, I can find no material Difference between them. The *Laws of Excise* are to be extended by it; the *Officers* are to be invested with the arbitrary Power of *entering Houses*; and vast Numbers of the most useful Men in the Kingdom are to be abridged of their Right to a *Trial by Juries*, just as We apprehended and foretold.

It is said, indeed, that *Appeals* will be allow'd to THREE JUDGES, instead of the COMMISSIONERS formerly appointed for that Purpose. This, perhaps, may be one small Alteration for the better; but it cannot surely be thought to come under any Degree of Comparison with the *antient Method of Tryal*, establish'd by *Magna Charta*, and confirm'd by a Multitude of subsequent Laws; for though the *Judges* now hold their Places *during good Behaviour*, and are not so much under the Influence of the *Crown*, as They were formerly; yet, considering the Infirmities of human Nature and the Temptations of Power, I believe no sensible Man in *England* would be glad to see his Property made absolutely dependent on the Virtue of *those Gentlemen*, in all Times to come.

As to *Frauds in the Revenue*, it hath been demonstrated, as far as such a Point can be proved, that an *Excise* will not prevent them, without some miraculous Operation on the Minds of the *Officers*; but supposing even That to be the Case, I think no Improvement of the Revenue whatsoever (unless in Times of the *extremest Necessity*) ought to be put in Competition with two of the greatest and most fundamental Privileges of *Englishmen*; *Tryals per Pares*, and the *Freedom of their own Houses*.

Great Pains have been taken to ridicule and explode our Apprehensions of a *general Excise*; because only

two Commodities are proposed to be put under *these Laces* at present; but, considering that most of our *native Commodities* and *Manufactures* are already *excised*, as well as several *imported Goods*, and that *Wine* and *Tobacco* are the two principal *Commodities* now remaining under the antient *Laws* of the *Custom-house*; what Scheme can have a more immediate Tendency to a *general Excise* than the present? Or can We never be said to be in any Danger of it, till it is intirely compleated?

Of the same Nature are the Reasonings of *these Gentlemen*, concerning the *Increase of Officers*, proposed to execute *this Scheme*. They tell us that no more than *one hundred and fifty*, or thereabouts, will be necessary; besides *Warehousemen*, *Clerks*, &c. and then ask us, with an Air of Triumph, whether such a small Number can be supposed of any dangerous Consequence to our *Liberties*. This Argument was made Use of, last Year, on Account of *six hundred Salt Officers*; and may be repeated every Year, with equal Force, for a *farther Addition*, even *ad infinitum*; 'till all the fighting Men in the Nation are converted into *civil*, or *military Dragoons*.

But *these Writers* seem to think Themselves very learned, in observing that no Government can subsist without *Revenues*, and that *Revenues* cannot be collected without *Officers*. Very true; and what then? We do not argue against the Existence of *such Men*, but against the Increase and Multiplicity of Them. We know that all Governments are obliged to make Use of Them; but We know likewise that They have commonly proved the Pests of Society, and render'd Themselves so odious, in all Ages, by their Insolence and Extortions, that even in Scripture, *Publicans* (or *Tax-gatherers*) are join'd with *Sinners*, as an infamous Race of Men; and though They are necessary Evils, like *Bayliffs* and *Hangmen*, it is a sure Mark of a *bad Government* to be overrun with Them.

In like Manner, when We argue against *Excises*, They represent us as Enemies to *Taxes* in general. Is there no Difference then between opposing *all Taxes*, and opposing a *particular Method of collecting them*? If This were really the Ca'se, I should be glad to know why the *Chimney-Money* was abolish'd, after the Revolution, and branded by Parliament, as a BADGE OF SLAVERY, *exposing every Man's House to be enter'd into and search'd, at Pleasure, by PERSONS UNKNOWN TO HIM.*—Let Them fairly answer me this Question, which hath often been propos'd to Them, and I will give up the Point.

But of all their Arguments, there is one so very ridiculous, that I have not hitherto taken the least Notice of it. However, as it falls in my Way at present, and will serve to divert the Reader, at least, I will bestow a short Remark or two upon it.

When *these Writers* are press'd hard in the Argument, that an *Excise* cannot possibly prevent the *Adulteration of Wine and Tobacco*, but will probably make them *dearer*, and thereby *lessen the Consumption*; They turn short upon us and reply, that the Duties upon *these Commodities* are only Taxes upon *Luxury*, and that it would be happy for the Nation if *all our Luxuries* were tax'd.

It seems then, at last, that *this Scheme* was projected only for the Suppression of *Luxury*, which is certainly a very laudable End; but if That is the true Design of it, I cannot help thinking that it would have been something more to the Purpose to have laid a Tax upon *Gold and Silver Lace*, as well as *foreign Thread-Lace and fine Linnens*; upon *sumptuous Equipages, costly Pictures*, and other Things, which are really unnecessary, and contribute only to the Vanity, Pomp and *Luxury of Life*.

As for *Tobacco and Wine*, They do not seem to fall immediately under the Denomination of *Luxury*. The *first* of these Commodities is grown so habitual to vast
Multitudes

Multitudes of People, especially the labouring Poor, that They can hardly subsist without it; and the *latter* is become equally natural, by long Custom, to most of the higher Ranks of Men. In many Cases, it is a Cordial, and prescribed by Physicians as such. Nay, some Constitutions cannot bear any other Liquor than *Wine*; and therefore it cannot properly be call'd *Luxury* any more than *Sugar, Spice*, and all other Commodities, which are not of our own Growth, or absolutely necessary to the Preservation of Life.

But if *these Reformers* are resolv'd in earnest to reduce the Consumption of *Wine* and *Tobacco*; how are the *landed Gentlemen* to be eas'd, by an *Improvement of the Revenue*; or, indeed, what will become of the *Government* itself, which is principally supported by *Luxury*, according to this Acceptation of the Word? — No Body but such a doting old Wretch as Mother Osborne, or such a blundering Creature as Carnus, could have ever started so silly an Argument; and therefore it is beneath any farther Notice.

We are likewise inform'd that the *old Subsidy* upon *Wine* and *Tobacco*, which belongs to the *Civil-List*, will be continued at the *Custom-house*; and therefore our Objection, that the *Crown* will be a considerable Gainer by the *Scheme*, must fall to the Ground. I am far from being satisfy'd as to *this Point*, for several Reasons, which may be hereafter explain'd. At present, I shall only take Notice that this Circumstance is so far from being an Answer to our Objection, that it is a new Argument against the *Project* itself; not only as it seems calculated to prevent any Reduction of *Custom-house Officers*, but as it will subject the Dealers in *those Commodities* to the Vexation of *two Offices* at once. It appears to be built exactly after the Model of *France* and *Spain*; where, as I am inform'd, there is one Duty of *Customs*, upon Importation, and another of *Excise*, upon Home-Consumption.

I shall conclude with observing, that I have not met with one Person, who hath alter'd his Sentiments of *this Scheme*, since the late Revelation of it. The *Advocates* for it are therefore reduced to the last Shift of calling Names, and representing all Those, who oppose it, as STURDY BEGGARS; but this polite Phrase seems to be a little unhappily apply'd, in the present Case; for STURDY BEGGARS and ROBERTSMEN are used as synonymous Terms in our old Statutes. This puts Me in Mind of the Story of the RABBIT; which I will relate as briefly as I can, for the Information of Those, who never heard it.

An impudent Fellow, who was not content with the Profits of an honest Employment, took it in his Head to collect Money on the Road in a very unusual Manner, according to *Law*. His Method was to step up to a Coachside, with a *Rabbit* in one Hand, and a *Pisfol* in the other. *Gentlemen*, said He, *will you please to buy my Rabbit?* — If They answer'd, *We don't love Rabbits*; He reply'd, with a bullying Air; *By G——d, Gentlemen, you must and shall buy this Rabbit!*

I shall make no Application of this Story; but only ask one short Question. — Who were the *sturdy Beggars*, in this Case; *They*, who declared their Aversion to the *Rabbit*; or, *He*, who cram'd it down their Throats? D.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THE Author of a *Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country*, speaking of a general Excise and imaginary Terrors, (p. 7.) hath these remarkable Words; “ Such was the *Danger of the Church*, in the Days of *Queen Anne*; such was the *Danger of Gibraltar*, in the Days of the late
“ good

N^o 351. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 195

“ *good King*, and of the *present Father of our Country*; such was the *Danger of universal War*, by blundering Counsels, which have ended in *universal Peace*; such was, and is, the *Danger of the Liberty of the Press*, &c.

What, Sir, can we think of the *Author of this Pamphlet*, or of his *Director and Supervisor*? How unguarded is He, and how great an Advantage does he give the *Tories*, by ranking the *Danger of the Church*, in the Days of *Queen Anne*, with those *real, certain, notorious Dangers*, which make up the following Part of the Paragraph?

For I desire to ask Him, was *Gibraltar* in no Danger from the *late King's Letter*? — Had his Parliament refused Him so many Things, that there was *no Danger of their Consent*, if He had requested This from Them? — Were there no Instructions given to the Obedient, to declaim upon the *little Importance of Gibraltar*, and that the Charge of its *Maintenance* exceeded its *Worth*? — Was not the *Spirit*, raised by some seasonable Writings, the most probable Reason why that Affair was carried no farther? — Or was it in no *Danger*, when it was actually besieged by a *strong Force*, and defended by a Garrison, at first *small and weak*? — Nay, can we even now be so well satisfied of its *Safety* as we should have been, if the King of *Spain*, in the late Treaties, had *explicitly renounced his Pretensions* to it?

Next, let Me ask, is it a good Proof that there was no Danger of an *universal War*, because those Measures, which naturally might have produced it, have accidentally ended in *universal Peace*? — Is it just Reasoning to argue, from the *Event*; or where is the Security, or Advantage of *such a Peace*, as requires a Continuance, if not an Increase, of our *Taxes and military Forces*, because it *affords Ambition more Leisure to look round*?

As to the *Liberty of the Press*, was That in no Danger, when Men were tamper'd with to give it up; when some were encouraged to abuse *that Liberty*, with Regard to *Morality* and *Religion*, that others might the more readily submit to a *Restraint* of it? And is not its present Security more to be ascribed to *Those*, who will not concur in bringing so great a Load of Slavery upon us, than to *Those*, who have spared no secret Pains to lay it upon our Shoulders?

It is possible that a *ministerial Writer* may have the Boldness to answer *No* to each of these Questions; but it is not possible that He should meet with Belief, or have so much Folly as to expect it.

O. *I am, Sir, your humble Servant, X.*



N^o 352. SATURDAY, *March 31, 1732.*

WE have been lately told *that Parliaments do not sit to please the MERCHANTS*; and if They are really a Band of STURDY BEGGARS, who enrich Themselves with the Plunder of the Nation, it must be acknowledged They are so far from deserving to be gratify'd, that the Statutes against *Vagrants* ought to be put in Force against Them; nay, if all the *foreign Commodities*, which They import for the *Conveniency of Life*, in Return for our *superfluous Manufactures*, are to be rank'd under the Denomination of *Luxury*, as We are likewise told, I think 'TRADE itself ought to be suppress'd, as well as the MERCHANTS. But These, I confess, are new Doctrines to Me, and favour much more of *Republican Principles*, than any Thing I have ever advanced. They have, indeed, a direct Tendency to an *agrarian Law*, or what is call'd *Levelling* amongst us, and can be

be supported by nothing else. The Lands of *England* must be divided equally amongst the People, and every Man must live upon the Produce of his own little Spot of Earth, without any Commerce with the rest of the World, or making any Figure abroad as a *maritime Power*.

When *these Writers* argue against *Luxury*, in the present Case, They are guilty of a most egregious and ridiculous Piece of Sophistry, by dividing all Commodities into two Classes only, the *Necessaries* and *Superfluities of Life*; whereas in all civilized Countries, the *Conveniencies of Life* ought certainly to have a Place, distinct from *either*; for the coarsest Frize, or Dowlas, that is made, will protect us from the Injuries of the Weather, as well as the finest Manufactures; and the most homely Diet will support Life, as well as the richest Delicacies of Earth, Air and Water. Will *these Gentlemen* therefore call every Thing *Superfluity* and *Luxury*, which is not absolutely *necessary* to our very Existence; or would They have no Distinction made between different Ranks of Men? — But as Authorities have often more Force than the strongest Reasoning, or clearest Demonstration, I will fill up this Paper with a most excellent Essay of the late Mr. ADDISON, transcribed verbatim from one of the *Speakers*; in which He gives us his Sentiments of TRADE and the BRITISH MERCHANTS.

“ THERE is no Place in the Town, which I
 “ so much love to frequent as the *Royal Exchange*. It gives Me a secret Satisfaction, and, in
 “ some Measure, gratifies my Vanity, as I am an *Eng-
 “ lishman*, to see so rich an Assembly of my Countrymen
 “ and Foreigners consulting together upon the private
 “ Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a
 “ Kind of *Emporium* for the whole Earth. I must
 “ confess, I look upon *High-Change* to be a great
 “ Council, in which all considerable Nations have
 R 3 “ their

" their Representatives. FACTORS in the trading
 " World are what AMBASSADORS are in the politick
 " World. They negotiate Affairs, conclude Treaties,
 " and maintain a good Correspondence between those
 " wealthy Societies of Men, that are divided from one
 " another by Seas and Occans, or live on the different
 " Extremities of a Continent. I have often been
 " pleas'd to hear Disputes adjust'd between an Inhabitant
 " of *Japan* and an Alderman of *London*; or to
 " see a Subject of the *Great Mogul* entering into a
 " League with one of the *Czar of Muscovy*. I am infinitely
 " delighted in mixing with these several *Ministers of Commerce*, as They are distinguish'd by their
 " different Walks, and different Languages. Sometimes
 " I am jostled among a Body of *Armenians*; sometimes I am lost in a Crowd of *Jews*; and sometimes
 " make one in a Groupe of *Dutchmen*. I am a
 " *Dane*, *Swede*, or *Frenchman*, at different Times; or
 " rather fancy Myself like the *old Philosopher*, who
 " upon being ask'd what Countryman He was, reply'd, that He was a *Citizen of the World*.

" Though I very frequently visit this busy Multitude of People, I am known to nobody there but
 " my Friend Sir ANDREW, who often smiles upon
 " Me as He sees Me bustling in the Crowd, but at
 " the same Time connives at my Presence, without
 " taking any farther Notice of Me. There is, indeed,
 " a Merchant of *Egypt*, who just knows Me by Sight,
 " having formerly remitted Me some Money to *Grand Cairo*; but as I am not vers'd in the modern *Coptick*,
 " our Conferences go no farther than a Bow and a Grimace.

" This grand Scene of Business gives Me an infinite
 " Variety of solid and substantial Entertainments. As
 " I am a great Lover of Mankind, my Heart naturally
 " overflows with Pleasure at the Sight of a prosperous and happy
 " Multitude; insomuch that at many publick Solemnities I cannot forbear expressing
 "

“sing my Joy with Tears, that have stolen down my
 “Cheeks. For this Reason, I am wonderfully delighted
 “to see such a Body of Men thriving in their own
 “*private Fortunes*, and at the same Time promoting
 “the *publick Stock*; or, in other Words, raising E-
 “states for their *own Families*, by bringing into their
 “Country whatever is *wanting*, and carrying out of
 “it whatever is *superfluous*.

“Nature seems to have taken a particular Care to dif-
 “seminate her Blessings among the different Regions of
 “the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse
 “and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of
 “the several Parts of the Globe might have a Kind of
 “Dependance upon one another, and be united to-
 “gether by their common Interest. Almost every *De-*
 “*gree* produces something peculiar to it. The Food
 “often grows in one Country, and the Sauce in ano-
 “ther. The Fruits of *Portugal* are corrected by the
 “Products of *Barbadoes*; the Infusion of a *Cbina Plant*
 “sweeten’d with the Pith of an *Indian Cane*. The
 “*Philippick* Islands give a Flavour to our *European*
 “Bowls. The single Dress of a *Woman of Quality* is
 “often the Product of an hundred Climates. The
 “*Muff* and the *Fan* come together from the different
 “Ends of the Earth. The *Scarf* is sent from the
 “*Torrid Zone*, and the *Tippet* from beneath the *Pole*.
 “The *Brocade Petticoat* rises out of the Mines of *Peru*,
 “and the *Diamond Necklace* out of the Bowels of
 “*Indostan*.

“If We consider our *own Country* in its natural
 “Prospect, without any of the Benefits and Advanta-
 “ges of *Commerce*, what a barren, uncomfortable Spot
 “of Earth falls to our Share? Natural Historians tell
 “us, that no Fruit grows originally among us, besides
 “*Hips* and *Haws*, *Acorns* and *Pig-Nuts*, with other
 “Delicacies of the like Nature; that our Climate of
 “itself, and without the Assistance of Art, can make
 “no farther Advances towards a *Plumb* than to a *Sloe*,
 “and

“ and carries an *Apple* to no greater Perfection than a
 “ *Crab*; that our *Melons*, our *Peaches*, our *Figs*, our
 “ *Apricots* and *Cherries* are Strangers among us, im-
 “ ported in different Ages, and naturalized in our *Eng-
 lish* Gardens; and that they would all degenerate
 “ and fall away into the Trash of our own Country,
 “ if they were wholly neglected by the Planter and
 “ left to the Mercy of our Sun and Soil. Nor has
 “ *Traffick* more enrich’d our vegetable World, than it
 “ has improved the whole Face of Nature among us.
 “ Our Ships are laden with the Harvest of every Cli-
 “ mate. Our Tables are stored with *Spices*, and *Oils*,
 “ and *Wines*. Our Rooms are fill’d with Pyramids of
 “ *China*, and adorn’d with the Workmanship of *Ja-
 pan*. Our *Morning’s Draught* comes to us from the
 “ remotest Corners of the Earth. We repair our Bodies
 “ by the Drugs of *America*, and repose ourselves under
 “ *Indian* Canopies. My Friend Sir ANDREW calls
 “ the Vineyards of *France* our Gardens; the *Spice-
 Islands* our Hot-Beds; the *Persians* our Silk-Weavers;
 “ and the *Chinese* our Potters. *Nature*, indeed, fur-
 “ nishes us with the *bare Necessaries of Life*; but
 “ *Traffick* gives us a great Variety of what is *useful*,
 “ and at the same Time supplies us with every Thing,
 “ that is *convenient* and *ornamental*. Nor is it the least
 “ Part of this our Happiness, that whilst we enjoy
 “ the remotest Products of the *North* and *South*, we
 “ are free from those Extremities of Weather, which
 “ give them Birth; that our Eyes are refresh’d with
 “ the green Fields of *Britain*, at the same Time that
 “ our Palates are feasted with *Fruits*, that rise between
 “ the *Tropicks*.

“ For these Reasons, there are not more useful
 “ Members in a Commonwealth than MERCHANTS.
 “ They knit Mankind together in a mutual Intercourse
 “ of good Offices; distribute the Gifts of Nature; find
 “ Work for the *Poor*; add Wealth to the *Rich*; and
 “ Magnificence to the *Great*. Our *English Merchant*
 “ converts

“ converts the Tin of his own Country into Gold,
 “ and exchanges his Wool for Rubies. The *Mahometans*
 “ are cloath’d in our *British* Manufacture, and
 “ the Inhabitants of the *Frozen Zone* warm’d with
 “ the Fleeces of our Sheep.

“ When I have been upon the *Change*, I have often
 “ fancied one of our *old Kings* standing in Person,
 “ where He is represented in Effigy, and looking
 “ down upon the wealthy Concourse of People, with
 “ which that Place is every Day fill’d. In this Case,
 “ how would He be surprized to hear all the Languages
 “ of *Europe* spoken in this little Spot of his former
 “ Dominions; and to see so many *private Men*, who
 “ in his Time would have been the *Vassals of some*
 “ *powerful Baron*, negotiating like *Princes* for greater
 “ Sums of Money than were formerly to be met with
 “ in the royal Treasury. *Trade*, without enlarging the
 “ *British* Territories, has given us a kind of additional
 “ Empire. It has multiplied the Number of the *Rich*,
 “ made our *landed Estates* infinitely more valuable
 “ than they were formerly, and added to them an
 “ Accession of *other Estates* as valuable as the *Lands*
 “ themselves. D.



A M desired by several of my Correspondents to insert the following Letter from a Jesuit in *England* to the Rector of that Order at *Brussels*, in the Year 1627, discovering a Design at that Time on Foot, for enslaving the Nation by EXCISES and a STANDING ARMY. It may be seen in *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 474, from whence

whence I have transcribed it at large, and believe some Parts of it will be thought to contain Matter of reasonable Instruction and Caution, at present.

Father Rector,

“ **L**ET not the Damp of Astonishment seize upon
 “ your ardent and zealous Soul, in apprehending
 “ the suddain and unexpected Calling of a *Parliament*.
 “ We have not opposed, but rather furthered it; so
 “ that we hope as much in *this Parliament*, as ever
 “ we fear’d any in *Queen Elizabeth’s Days*.

“ You must know the *Council* is engaged to assist
 “ the *King*, by Way of *Prerogative*, in case the *Par-*
 “ *liamentary Way* should fail. You shall see *this Par-*
 “ *liament* will resemble the *Pelican*, which takes a

“ Pleasure to dig out with her Beak her own Bowels.

“ The Election of Knights and Burgessees hath been
 “ in such Confusion of apparent Faction, as That,
 “ which we were wont to procure heretofore with
 “ much Art and Industry, (when the *Spanish Match*
 “ was in Treaty) now breaks out naturally as a Botch,
 “ or Boil, and spits and spues out it’s own Rancor
 “ and Venom.

“ You remember how that famous and immortal
 “ Statesman, the Count of *Gondomar*, sed King *James*
 “ his Fancy, and rock’d him asleep with the soft
 “ sweet Sound of *Peace*, to keep up the *Spanish Treaty*.
 “ Likewise we were much bound to *some Statesmen* of
 “ *our own Country* for gaining Time, by procuring
 “ those most advantageous Cessations of Arms in the
 “ *Palatinate*, and advancing the Honour and Integrity
 “ of the *Spanish Nation*, and villifying the *Hollanders*;
 “ remonstrating to King *James*, that that State was
 “ most ungrateful both to his Predecessor *Queen Eliza-*
 “ *beth* and his sacred Majesty; that the *States* were
 “ more obnoxious than the *Turk*, and perpetually in-
 “ jured his Majesty’s loving Subjects in the *East Indies*;
 “ and likewise They have usurp’d from his Majesty
 “ the

“ the Regality and unvaluable Profit of the narrow
“ Seas, in fishing upon the *English Coasts*, &c.

“ This *great Statesman* had but one principal
“ Means to further their great and good Designs;
“ which was to set on King *James* that none but the
“ *Puritan Faction*, which plotted nothing but Anarchy
“ and his Confusion, were averſe to this moſt happy
“ Union. We ſteer'd on the ſame Courſe, and have
“ made great Uſe of this *Anarchical Election*, and have
“ prejudicated and anticipated the *great one*, that
“ none but the *King's Enemies* and *his* are choſen of
“ *this Parliament*, &c.

“ We have now many Strings to our Bow, and
“ have ſtrongly fortify'd our Faction, and have added
“ two Bulwarks more; for when King *James* lived,
“ (you know) he was very violent againſt *Arminianism*,
“ and interrupted (with his Wit and deep
“ Learning) our ſtrong Designs in *Holland*, and was a
“ great Friend to that old Rebel and Heretick, the
“ Prince of *Orange*.

“ Now, we have planted that Sovereign Drug *Ar*
“ *minianism*, which we hope will purge the *Prote-*
“ *ſtants* from their Hereſy; and it flouriſheth and
“ bears Fruit in due Season.

“ The Materials, which build up our Bulwarks,
“ are the *Projectors* and *Beggars* of all Ranks and
“ Qualities. Howſoever, both theſe Factions co-ope-
“ rate to deſtroy the *Parliament*, and to introduce a
“ new Species and Form of Government, which is
“ *Oligarchy*.

“ Thoſe ſerve as direct Mediums and Inſtruments
“ to our End, which is the *universal Catholick Mo-*
“ *narchy*. Our Foundation muſt be *Mutation*, and
“ *Mutation* will cauſe a *Relaxation*; which will ſerve
“ as ſo many violent Diſeaſes, as the *Stone*, *Gout*, &c.
“ to the ſpeedy Diſtraction of our perpetual and in-
“ ſufferable Anguiſh of Body, which is worſe than
“ Death itſelf.

“ We

“ We proceed now by Council and mature Deliberation, how and when to work upon the * *Duke's* Jealousy and Revenge; and in This we give the Honour to Those, which merit it, which are the *Church-Catholicks*.

“ There is another Matter of Consequence, which we take much into our Consideration and tender Care; which is to stave off *Puritans*, that They hang not in the *Duke's* Ears. They are impudent, subtle People; and it is to be fear'd lest They should negotiate a Reconciliation between the *Duke* and the *Parliament* at *Oxford* and *Westminster*; but now we assure ourselves we have so handled the Matter, that both *Duke* and *Parliament* are irreconcilable.

“ For the better Prevention of the *Puritans*, the *Armenians* have already lock'd up the *Duke's* Ears; and we have Those of our own Religion, which stand continually at the *Duke's* Chamber, to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and careful in this Regard.

“ I cannot chuse but laugh to see how some of our *own Coat* have accoutred themselves. You would scarce know Them, if you saw Them; and it is admirable, how in Speech and Gesture They act the *Puritans*. The *Cambridge* Scholars, to their woeful Experience, shall see we can act the *Puritans* a little better than They have done the *Jesuits*. They have abused our sacred Patron, Saint *Ignatius*, in jest; but we will make Them smart for it in earnest. I hope you will excuse my merry Digression; for I confess unto you, I am at this Time transported with Joy to see how happily all Instruments and Means, as well great as less, cooperate unto our Purposes.

BUCKINGHAM, the Prime Minister.

“ But

“ But to return unto the main Fabrick. Our Foundation is *Arminianism*. The *Arminians* and *Projectors*, as it appears in the Premises, affect *Mutation*. This we second, and enforce by probable Arguments. In the first Place, we take into Consideration the *King's* Honour, and present Necessity; and we shew how the *King* may free himself of his *Ward*, as *Lewis XI.* did. And for his great Splendour and Lustre, He may raise a *vast Revenue*, and not be beholding to his *Subjects*; which is by way of Imposition of *Excise*. Then our *Church-Catholics* proceed to shew the Means how to settle *this Excise*, which must be by a *mercenary Army of Horse and Foot*. For the *Horse*, we have made That sure; They shall be *Foreigners*, and *German*, who will eat up the *King's Revenues*, and spoil the Country wheresoever They come, though They should be well paid. What Havock will They make there, when They get no Pay, or are not duly paid? They will do more Mischief, than we hope the *Army* will do.

“ We are provident and careful that *this mercenary Army of two thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot* shall be taken on and in Pay, before the *Excise* be settled. In forming the *Excise*, the Country is most likely to rise. If the *mercenary Army* subjugate the Country, then the *Soldiers* and *Projectors* shall be paid out of the Confections. If the Country be too hard for the *Soldiers*, then They must consequently *mutiny*; which is equally advantageous unto us. Our superlative Design is to work the *Protestants*, as well as the *Catholics*, to welcome in a *Conqueror*, and That is by this Means. We hope instantly to dissolve *Trades*, and hinder the building of *Shipping*; in devising probable Designs, and putting on the State upon Expeditions, as That of *Cadix* was; in taking away the *Merchant Ships*, so that They

Vo L. X. S “ may

" may not easily catch and light upon the *West India*
" Fleet, &c. D.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

I AM always rejoiced, when I see a *Spirit of Liberty* exert itself among any Set, or Denomination of my Countrymen. I please myself with the Hopes that it will grow more diffusive; some Time or other become fashionable; and at last useful to the Publick. As I know your Zeal for *Liberty*, I thought I could not address better than to you the following exact Account of the noble Stand, lately made by the polite Part of the World, in Defence of their *Liberties* and *Properties*, against the open Attacks and bold Attempts of Mr. *H——* upon both. I shall singly relate the Fact, and leave you, who are better able than I am, to make what Inferences, or Applications may be proper.

The Rise and Progress of Mr. *H——*'s Power and Fortune are too well known for Me now to relate. Let it suffice to say that He was grown so insolent upon the sudden and undeserved Increase of both, that He thought nothing ought to oppose his imperious and extravagant Will. He had, for some Time, govern'd the *Operas*, and modell'd the *Orchestra*, without the least Controul. No *Voices*, no *Instruments* were admitted, but such as flatter'd his Ears, though They shock'd those of the Audience. *Wretched Scrapers* were put above the *best Hands* in the *Orchestra*. No Music but *his own* was to be allow'd, though every Body was weary of it; and He had the Impudence to assert, *that there was no Composer in England but Himself.* Even
Kings

Kings and *Queens* were to be content with whatever low Characters He was pleased to assign Them, as is evident in the Case of Signor *Montagnana*; who, though a *King*, is always obliged to act (except an angry, rumbling Song, or two) the most insignificant Part of the whole Drama. This Excess and Abuse of Power soon disgusted the Town; his Government grew odious; and his *Opera's* grew empty. However this Degree of Unpopularity and general Hatred, instead of humbling Him, only made Him more furious and desperate. He resolved to make one last Effort to establish his Power and Fortune by Force, since He found it now impossible to hope for it from the good Will of Mankind. In order to This, He form'd a *Plan*, without consulting any of his *Friends*, (if He has any) and declared that at a proper Season He would communicate it to the Publick; assuring us, at the same Time, that it would be very much for the Advantage of the Publick in general, and of *Opera's* in particular. Some People suspect that He had settled it previously with Signora *Strada del Po*, who is much in his Favour; but all, that I can advance with Certainty, is, that He had concerted it with a *Brother of his own*, in whom He places a most undeserved Confidence. In *this Brother* of his, *Heat* and *Dulness* are miraculously united. The *former* prompts Him to any Thing new and violent; while the *latter* hinders Him from seeing any of the Inconveniencies of it. As Mr. *H*———'s *Brother*, He thought it was necessary He should be a *Musician* too; but all He could arrive at, after a very laborious Application for many Years, was a moderate Performance upon the *Jew's Trump*. He had, for some Time, play'd a *Parte buffa* abroad, and had entangled his *Brother* in several troublesome and dangerous Engagements, in the Commissions He had given Him to contract with *foreign Performers*; and from which (by the Way) Mr. *H*——— did not disengage Himself with much

Honour. Notwithstanding all these and many more Objections, Mr. H——, by and with the Advice of *this Brother*, at last produces his *Project*; resolves to cram it down the Throats of the Town; prostitutes great and awful Names, as the Patrons of it; and even does not scruple to insinuate that They are to be Sharers of the Profit. His *Scheme* set forth in Substance, that the late Decay of *Opera's* was owing to their *Cheapness*, and to the great *Frauds* committed by the *Door-keepers*; that the *annual Subscribers* were a Parcel of *Rogues*, and made an ill Use of their Tickets, by often *running* two into the Gallery; that to obviate these Abuses He had contrived a Thing, that was better than an *Opera*, call'd an *Oratorio*; to which none should be admitted, but by *printed Permits*, or Tickets of one Guinea each, which should be distributed out of *Warehouses of his own*, and by *Officers of his own naming*; which *Officers* could not so reasonably be supposed to cheat in the Collection of *Guineas*, as the *Door-keepers* in the Collection of *half Guineas*; and lastly, that as the very Being of *Opera's* depended upon *Him singly*, it was just that the Profit arising from hence should be for his *own Benefit*. He added, indeed, one Condition, to varnish the whole a little; which was, that if any Person should think himself aggrieved, and that the *Oratorio* was not worth the Price of the *Permit*, he should be at Liberty to appeal to *three Judges of Musick*, who should be obliged, within the Space of seven Years at farthest, finally to determine the same; provided always that the said *Judges* should be of his Nomination, and known to like no other Musick but his.

The Absurdity, Extravagancy, and Oppression of *this Scheme* disgusted the whole Town. Many of the most constant Attenders of the *Opera's* resolved absolutely to renounce them, rather than go to them under such Extortion and Vexation. They exclaim'd against the insolent and rapacious Projector of *this Plan*. The King's

King's old and sworn Servants, of the two Theatres of *Drury-Lane* and *Covent-Garden*, reap'd the Benefit of this general Discontent, and were resorted to in Crowds, by way of Opposition to the *Oratorio*. Even the fairest Breasts were fired with Indignation against this *new Imposition*. Assemblies, Cards, Tea, Coffee, and all other Female Batteries were vigorously employ'd to defeat the *Project*, and destroy the *Projector*. These joint Endeavours of all Ranks and Sexes succeeded so well, that the *Projector* had the Mortification to see but a very thin Audience at his *Oratorio*; and of about two hundred and sixty odd, that it consisted of, it is notorious that not ten paid for their *Permits*, but, on the contrary, had them given Them, and Money into the Bargain, for coming to keep Him in Countenance.

This Accident, They say, has thrown Him into a *deep Melancholy*, interrupted sometimes by *raving Fits*; in which He fancies He sees ten thousand *Opera Devils* coming to tear Him to Pieces; then He breaks out into frantick, incoherent Speeches; muttering *sturdy Beggars, Assassination, &c.* In these delirious Moments, He discovers a particular Aversion to the *City*. He calls Them all a Parcel of *Rogues*, and asserts that the *bonestest Trader among Them deserves to be bang'd.*— It is much question'd whether He will recover; at least, if He does, it is not doubted but He will seek for a Retreat in his *own Country* from the general Repentment of the Town.

I am, S I R,

O.

Your very humble Servant,

P—LO R—LI.

P. S. Having seen a little Epigram, lately handed about Town, which seems to allude to the same Subject, I believe it will not be unwelcome to your Readers.

E P I G R A M.

QUoth *W—e* to *H—I*, shall We Two agree,
And excise the whole Nation?

H. si, Caro, si.

Of what Use are *Sheep*, if the *Shepherd* can't hear them?
At the *Hay-Market* I, you at *Westminster*. —

W. Hear Him!

Call'd to Order, their *Seconds* appear in their Place;
One fam'd for his *Morals*, and one for his *Face*.

In half They succeeded, in half They were cross'd.

The *Excise* was obtain'd, but poor *DEBORAH* lost.

O.



N^o 355. SATURDAY, *April* 21, 1733.

*I, pete unguentum, Puer, et Coronas,
Et Cadum, Marti memorem Duelli,
Spartacum si quæ potuit vagantem
Fallere Testa.*

HOR.



Ublick Blessings naturally produce publick Rejoicings; and I should think myself inexcuseable, if I neglect this Opportunity of concurring in that general Scene of Festivity, which hath manifested itself thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, on a late ever-memorable Occurrence. Instead therefore of condoling with my Countrymen, (as I once fear'd there might be Occasion to do) I heartily congratulate Them upon their Deliverance, and shall leave the Enemies of *Trade* and *Liberty* to humble Themselves in Sackcloth and Ashes, whilst We are wishing Prosperity to both, and drinking the Healths of *those honest Gentlemen*, who have preserv'd them to us.

I cannot, perhaps, do my Country a more useful Piece of Service, at this Time, than by making some Observations on so great an Event.

In the first Place, We have the Pleasure to observe that the *Spirit of Liberty* is not yet extinct in this Kingdom; and that the *original Power of the People*, in their collective Body, is still of some Weight, when vigorously exerted and united, without any ridiculous Adherence to *old Party-names*, which have no Relation to our present Disputes. For this Reason, every good *Englishman* and Friend to his Country must be infinitely delighted to find the silly Denominations of *Whig* and *Tory* intirely sunk in our late Contests, and lost in the more seasonable Distinction of *Exciseman*, or *no Exciseman*. Such Discriminations as these are natural and unavoidable, on all great Occasions; and as they generally cease with their Cause, or can be revived only in similar Cases, they are seldom attended with any bad Consequences to the Publick. Whereas when a whole Nation is divided into two separate Bodies, occasion'd only by some circumstantial Differences about *Government*, or *Religion*, a greater Regard is commonly paid to *Names* than to *Things*; and the People are apt to follow their Leaders, in different Herds, through all their Measures, without considering whether they are reasonable in themselves, or even consistent with their *own System of Politicks*. Those are the *Distinctions*, which ought to be avoided in a free Country; because they usually become permanent, and are made the Instruments of ambitious Men, upon every Occasion, however foreign to the *Principles*, which first gave them Birth. I thank Heaven, these *popular Delusions* seem pretty well laid at present; and as the *Coalition of Parties* hath been attended with such glorious Success, I hope They will keep Themselves strictly on their Guard, and not suffer any *Seducer* to divide Them again.

I am at a Loss which to commend most; the prudent Vigour of the *mercantile Part of the Nation*; or the publick

publick Spirit of the *landed Gentlemen*, in supporting Them. The *Traders*, on one Side, have made a noble Stand, in Defence of their own immediate Concerns; and the *Country Gentlemen*, on the other, have proved Themselves wiser than to be deluded into an Opinion that their Interests are really distinct. As the Happiness of *both* is reciprocal and depends on each other; so They have very justly made it a joint Cause; and whilst They continue thus happily united, We may defy all the Powers on Earth to invade our *Liberties*, and destroy our *Constitution*.

It would be ungrateful, in this Place, not to acknowledge the disinterested Conduct of several Gentlemen in high Stations, both *civil* and *military*; but the general Applause of Mankind, besides the inward Satisfaction of having done their Duty, in so critical a Juncture, prevents my Pen, and will amply compensate for the Loss of present Favour, or the Frowns of Power. — They have, at least, endear'd their Names to Posterity, and I hope such uncommon Virtue will one Day find its Reward, even in this Age.

The unusual and almost singular Concurrence of Sentiments, upon this Occasion, gives us Reason to rejoice in a more than ordinary Manner. I congratulate my Countrymen, not only on the *Defeat* of the Scheme, but on the *Project* itself; which hath been several Years in Embryo, and being now crush'd by so high an Authority, is buried, I hope, deep as the Center, and will never rise again, whilst the least Spark of *English Liberty* remains unextinguish'd. The gloomy Prospect, which lately presented itself to our View, is vanish'd at once, and succeeded by a serene Sky, which seems to promise us a little Sunshine and fine Weather; for to whatever Motives the *Projector* and his *Advocates* may think fit to ascribe our late Success, it is certainly owing to the *general Sense of the Nation*, which hath so fully discover'd itself on this Occasion. No Arts have been left untry'd, no Engines unemploy'd by *these Men*, to execute

execute their Design ; and therefore We may reasonably conclude that no *Minister* in his Senses will ever presume to revive a *Scheme*, which hath been so universally opposed by the *Voice of the People* without Doors, and so gloriously defeated by our *worthy Representatives* within.

I often please myself with reflecting what a Figure this prosperous Struggle will give us abroad, as a *free People* ; and that it will, in a great Measure, wipe off that invidious Reflection of Mr. *Voltaire*, in his *History of the late King of SWEDEN* ; that the PRESENT ENGLISH are no more like the English in the Days of CROMWEL, than the Monks and Prelates of ROME are like the ANTIENT SCIPIO'S. — I could likewise mention some other good Consequences, which We may reasonably expect from the happy Issue of *this Affair*, both with Regard to the *King* and the *People* ; but as it may not be proper to explain them at present, I must desire to be excused.

It always goes against my Heart to insult the *Unfortunate*, or triumph over the *Vanquish'd* ; though their Distresses and Confusion have been intirely occasion'd by Themselves. I am rather inclined to compassionate the Case of all Those, (of whatever Rank, or Station They may be) who have suffer'd Themselves to be dragg'd through an Horsepond and bemired, to no Purpose, in so odious a Cause. — Even the *Projector* himself participates of my Pity.

But if I were of a contrary Disposition, and could take any Delight in the Discomfiture of my *Adversaries*, I am furnish'd with the strongest Materials from the Writings of that cholerick old Beldame Mrs. OSBORNE ; who, in one of her scolding Fits, very unluckily happen'd to express Herself in the following Manner, concerning the late *Petitions* from several Corporations to their Representatives, *viz.*

* “ Persons must have a very mean Opinion of the
 “ Understanding, or Resolution of the *Ministry*, to
 “ imagine

* See the London Journal of Feb. 24th, 1732-3.

“ imagine They will be *bullied* out of their Reason, or
 “ *roar’d* out of their Senses ; and that They will be
 “ induced to depart from what is right, or just, through
 “ Fear of a few *hot-headed Petitioners* lifting up their
 “ Voices, and making a confused Noise in the Dark.

“ No ; if They are *frighten’d*, They are *gone* ; and
 “ I shall date their *Fall* from that very Moment ; for
 “ after *such Cowardice*, their Enemies will never suffer
 “ Them to pass any Act, which They han’t a Mind
 “ to. — Nor is THAT MAN worthy to be at the
 “ Head of Affairs, who *dares* not do what is right, and
 “ leave all Events to Him, who governs the World.

What a fine Opportunity hath this *old Fortune-teller*
 put in my Hands of triumphing over her *Patron* ? But
 I scorn to take any Advantage of such a *blundering O-*
racle, and would advise Her to consult the learned Vau-
 cinations of her celebrated Ancestor, Mother *Skipton*, be-
 fore She ventures to publish any more of her own Pre-
 dictions.

As to the *Projector* himself, I can only hope that *this*
Rebuff will, at least, be Matter of Instruction to Him,
 and induce Him to use a little more Caution, for the
 future, how He provokes the Patience of the People.
 This will be the only effectual Way for Him to sleep in
 Quiet, without being haunted with continual Dreams of
Murder and *Affassination*. At present, I will give Him
 this farther Comfort ; that as He hath not hitherto dis-
 cover’d any Part of the same Spirit or Abilities with JU-
 LIUS CAESAR, He need not terrify Himself with Ap-
 prehensions of falling in the *same Manner*.

But if He is resolv’d to persist in his *former Measures*,
 and verify Madam *Osborne’s* Prophecies, it is out of my
 Power to prevent it with all my Endeavours. I will
 therefore conclude in the Words of *Cicero* against *Piso*
 and his *Brother-Colleague*, which I shall leave to *this*
Gentleman’s serious Meditation.

Nunquam Ego sanguinem expetivi tuum ; nunquam
illud extremum, quod posset esse improbis & probis com-
mane,

N^o 355. *The CRAFTSMAN.* 215

mune, supplicium Legis, ac Judicii; sed abiectum, contemptum, despectum à cæteris, à Te ipso desperatum, & relictum; circumspectantem omnia; quicquid increpuiſſet pertimeſcentem; diffidentem tuis Rebus; ſine voce, ſine Libertate, ſine autoritate, ſine ullà ſpecie conſulari; horrentem, trementem, adulantem omnes videre Te volui. Vidi. Quare, ſi Tibi evenerit, quod metuis ne accidat, equidem non moleſtè feram. Sin id tardiùs forte fiet, fruar tamen tuâ Indignitate; nec minùs libenter meſentem videbo, ne Reus fias, quam Reum; nec minus lætabor, cum Te ſemper ſordidum, quàm ſi pauliſper ſordidatum viderem. D.

In a few Days will be publiſh'd,

The PROJECTOR's LOOKING-GLASS; or, The laſt dying Words and Confefſion of Sir ROBERT MARRAL, premier Excife-man of Great Britain, who was burnt in Fleet-ſtreet on Wednesday the 11th Inſtant; taken faithfully from his own Mouth at the Place of Execution.

To which will be prefix'd his Effigies, drawn upon the Spot and curiouſly engraven by Mr. H—g—th.

Then ſhall ſtand up in his Eſtate a RAISER OF TAXES, in the Glory of the Kingdom; but within few Days He ſhall be deſtroy'd.

DANIEL, Chap. xi. Verſe 20th.

Printed for Mr. Aldam, Stationer, near Weaver's-Hall, of whom any Numbers may be had gratis, when in Town.

N. B. The Grub-ſtreet Paper, lately hawk'd about the Streets under the Title of the laſt dying Words of the Excife-Bill, &c. is ſpurious, and a groſs Impoſition on the Publick.

LOST,

LOST, *somewhere near Westminster-Hall, On Wednesday the 11th Instant, about Ten o' Clock at Night.*

A BILL, for a very large Sum of Money, drawn upon Mess. Smokers and Company, Merchants in London. Whoever can recover it, and will, at any Time hereafter, take an Opportunity to return it to the right Owner and sole Proprietor, ROBERT BOLD of Norfolk, at the Star and Garter in Pall-Mall; He shall for so great a Favour meet with many Thanks, and receive a most handsome Gratuity.

N. B. *This Bill is of no Use to any Body but the Owner, Payment being now so effectually stop'd.*





A P P E N D I X.

T H E

S E C O N D P A R T

Of an ARGUMENT against

E X C I S E S;

In ANSWER to the OBJECTIONS of
several Writers, &c.

*'Tis not in Mortals to command Success;
But We'll do more, Sempronius; We'll deserve it.*
CATO.



W H E N I first enter'd upon this Subject of *Excises*, I proceeded only on common Report and the Intimations given us of *such a Design* in a *Court-Pamphlet*, publish'd last Summer; as well as in the Speech of a *certain honourable Gentleman* in the *House of Commons*. I thought such Hints, strengthen'd by the general Discourse of the Town, were sufficient to justify an Enquiry into *this Method of Taxation*; which I apprehended, and do still apprehend,

VOL. X.

T

10

to be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Interest of *Trade*, as well as the *Liberties* of the whole Nation.

I was however in Hopes that the *honourable Gentleman* would have been induced to drop his Design, upon mature Deliberation; and therefore I spoke with some Diffidence, concerning the Execution of it. But the Seasonableness of such an Enquiry at the very Juncture, when I commenced it, hath been amply evinced by the Course of the Debate, and other Circumstances of the strongest Nature; for it is very remarkable that none of the *ministerial Writers* have dared to disown the Existence of *such a Project*, in plain Terms, though They have spared no Pains to persuade us that We need not be under any Apprehensions about it. But the vigorous Resolutions of the Merchants of *London*, and other great trading Towns in *England*, are sufficient to convince every reasonable Man that the Design still subsists. *Such wise and cautious Societies* are not apt to take Alarms without some Grounds; nor can any *Minister*, of common Sense, be pleased to see the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, as well as the Nation in general, inflamed to such a Degree; and therefore We have the strongest Presumption to believe that our *present Projector* would immediately endeavour to assuage these Heats amongst *so powerful and wealthy a Body of Men*, by giving Them some Assurances that He had no such Design, or had laid it aside, if That were really the Case. Instead of This, He hath confirm'd their Apprehensions, and furnish'd Them with fresh Reasons for invigorating their Proceedings, not only by withholding any such Assurances himself, but by suffering his *Advocates* to exert all their little Abilities, in Favour of *Excises*.

They have been so modest, indeed, as to mince the Matter, by declining the *Word* itself, as much as possible, and giving their *Scheme* the softer Name of an *Alteration in the Manner of collecting the publick Revenues*; but when They have been call'd upon to explain their
Meaning,

Meaning, They have been either struck dumb, or obliged to confess that it amounted to the *same Thing*; and whatever Opinion *these Gentlemen* may have of their own Address, the People of *England* are not yet become such Bubbles, as to be decoy'd into a Snare, with their Eyes broad open, under the most plausible Pretence of Ease and Advantage.

I foresaw very plainly, at my first setting out, that I should be annoy'd in my Journey by a Mob of *Billinggate Scriblers*, who are always ready to throw Dirt, when They can do nothing else; but I made my Way through Them with great Contempt, and could not help smiling at their impotent Fury, as I pass'd along.

I was, indeed, somewhat surprized not to find either Mr. *Osborne*, or Mr. *Walsingham*, amongst the Number of my Adversaries; but since They have thought fit to decline the Contest, (though the *latter* hath done it, with a very extraordinary Air) I will not be so ungenerous as to insult Them with any farther Remarks on their former Writings, or their present Silence on *this Head*.

The *Advocates for Excises* having chosen to make their chief Assault in the *Daily Courant*, I shall now consider the most material of their Arguments, according to my late Promise, without concealing, or willingly evading the Force of them, in any one Particular.

There are *several Writers*, who have appear'd against Me in *this Paper*; or, at least, have distinguish'd Themselves by different Names. — The Reader will now excuse Me, if I stop a Moment, and take some small Notice of Them, before I proceed to the Substance of the Argument.

One of Them signs himself *Meanwell*, and seems to be such an harmless * *Good Sort* of a Man, though a little testy, that it would be cruel to ruffle his Disposition with any farther Remark.

* *Suppos'd to be the late Mr. Goode.*

Another is pleas'd to subscribe his Lucubrations with the Name of * *J. English*; though, by his blundering Concessions, I should take Him to be of a *neighbouring Kingdom*; for He very frankly and fillily admits, *that if a general Excise was to be laid, and levied by arbitrary and insolent Excisemen, supported by a standing Army; if the Repose of Families was to be disturb'd at all Hours of the Night, and the Officers quarter'd upon the Traders; there would be Foundation enough for Complaint.* — *This Man*, I say, cannot surely have lived long in *England*; or He must have an Head very oddly turn'd, to make such an Acknowledgment, in the present Argument; since This is the very Case of *Excises*; This is the Thing, which gives us so much Alarm; and lays the *Traders* under such terrible Apprehensions.

As *Carus* is only an hard *Latin Word* for dear *Joy*, I am inclin'd to believe that *this Writer* is the same with the *Gentleman* before-mention'd, under another Name; for both his Style and his Manner of Reasoning seem to have a good deal of the same *Hibernian Cast*.

He undertakes, in the first Place, † *to unravel all those Knots and Perplexities, which Caleb hath for many Weeks together been knitting, with indefatigable Toil.* — But how does He *unravel these Knots*? Why, just in the old *Alexandrine Way*; He cuts them asunder. He first lays it down as a Maxim, that a *Parliament* can not be *influenced, or corrupted*; and then concludes that *no Taxes* can be *grievous, or unjust*, which are imposed on the People, with the Content of *their own Representatives*; for which Reason He tells us, in another Paper, ‡ *that raising Money ought to be spoke of no where, before it is mention'd in the House of Commons; and if They acquiesce in any Proposals of that Kind, there remain none else, to whom the Proposers are to account.*

* See the Courrant, Oct. 28.

† Courant, Dec. 12.

‡ Courant, Dec. 19.

In the same Paper, he is pleas'd to acquaint us, *that the Advocates of the present Ministry do not write for a Subsistence.* I am glad to hear it with all my Heart; for if That were the Case, I am afraid They would soon come to want Bread; at least, under any *other Patrons.* But every Body knows *these Writers* to be Gentlemen of *distinguish'd Birth, Fortune and Education,* who enter Volunteers in the Service, and scorn to be concern'd in the *Property of a News-Paper*; or to receive weekly Wages from a *Printer*; or quarterly Pensions from the Tr — y. It seems, indeed, a little dishonourable, and far beneath Persons of such an *elevated Rank,* to twit poor *Fog* and *D'Anvers* in the Teeth with their *inferior Circumstances,* and set Them forth to the World as a Couple of *Parish-Authors, who write Libels for Bread,* and are of no other Importance than what depends on the Sale of their *Two-penny Journals.* This alas! is too true; for neither *Fog* nor I have given Ourselves any big Airs, as *private Men*; but have often acknowledged Ourselves the *Servants of the Publick,* and never pretended to any Regard from it, but what resulted from the Force of our Arguments, and the Weight of the Matter in Hand. It is therefore cruel to the last Degree, to take such Advantages against us, and reproach us with our *low Condition*; especially since We have no Opportunity of retorting any Part of the Charge upon our *Adversaries.* — They are Gentlemen of *eminent Distinction,* as well as *Abilities,* who cannot be suspected of writing from any *mercenary, or sordid Motives.* — This, I say, is an hard Case upon Us; but *Fog* and I must bear it as well as We can.

In the very * next Paper, he is still more unmercifully severe upon us. He calls us *fallen Angels, impertinent little Fellows, Catilines, Jacobites, Traitors, Firebrands of Discord, Trumpeters of Sedition, Revilers of Power,* and *Canker-Worms in the very Heart of the Constitution itself;*

* Courant, December 20th.

with other polite Appellations of the same Kind, which he accumulates one upon another, till he hath quite run himself out of Breath. Nay, he even endeavours to rob us of that *poor Subsistence*, for which We are obliged to *write Libels*, by striking at the *Craft* itself; for *looking upon the Liberty of the Press as a most invaluable Blessing, and what ought ever to be preserved*, he thinks it absolutely necessary to *Clog* it with an *Excise upon all seditious Journals, News-Papers and Pamphlets*. — Alas! God knows, the *Press* is already clogg'd with a *double Excise*; for We not only pay a Duty upon *Paper*, but another very heavy one for *Stamps*; by the *last* of which We are prohibited, under severe Penalties, from disposing of any of our Commodities, without an *Imprimatur* from the *Commissioners of the Stamp-Office*, who are properly our *Licensers*, as well as *Judges* in this Case; and our *Two-penny Journals* are reduced to the narrow Compass of *half a Sheet*; so that We are obliged to *fight*, as *Mist* once complain'd, *like Wid-drington on our Stumps*. Thus, we see, *the Government hath already made itself a Gainer by Sedition*, according to *this Scheme, and extracted some Benefit even from Disaffection itself*. I must likewise put the illustrious *Carus* in Mind that *this excellent Regulation of the Press* was projected by his *honourable Patron*, with the same honest Design, which He mentions of putting a *Clog* upon it. But it is not at all surprizing that *these Gentlemen* should be ignorant that the *Press* is already put under the *Clog of an Excise*, since their Works are happily exempted from it, and They have the Pleasure to see them publish'd and hawk'd about the Country, *unstampt and Duty-free, by Ministers and Officers of State*.

This Project, for loading the *Press* with a *new Clog*, is so much of a Piece with a * *late worthy Attempt* to
revive

* See the Doctrine of Libels discuss'd and examined, &c.

revive the Practice of the *Star-Chamber* against *Libellers*, that it is very natural to think they came from the *same excellent Hand*; and as I am told that the *reputed Author* is now embark'd for the *West Indies*, to take Possession of a * *Place*, which he hath so well deserved of *this Nation*, I suppose he design'd the *present Scheme* as his *farewel Gift*, or *last Legacy to the Publick*. — I heartily wish Him a good Voyage; and cannot help condoling with his *Patron*, on the Loss of *so valuable an Advocate*; but he hath the Pleasure to reflect that although the publick Service of our *southern Colonies* made it necessary to ship off *one eminent Lawyer*; *another* hath been lately imported from our *northern Colonies*, who will be fully able, I hope, to supply his Place.

I now come to the *anonymous Writer in the same Paper*, who follow'd me close at the Heels every *Saturday*, and enter'd into a more particular Examination of the Argument against *Excises*. *This Gentleman* pretends to reason, as well as rail; and therefore deserves a little more Regard than his *Brother Writers*; though I will undertake to prove, before I have done, that he hath not been able to take off the Force of any one material Objection against *Excises*.

I think it hath been fully proved, in my *Argument*, that the Collection of Subsidies, or Taxes, by *Officers of the Customs*, is more for the Ease of the People than by *Officers of Excise*. By *one*, the Trader is intirely Master of his Goods from the Moment he hath landed them and paid the *Customs*; whereas by the *other*, though he hath paid the *Excise*, an Officer is at full Liberty to come into his House, or Warehouse, at all Hours.

It hath not been deny'd, it cannot be deny'd, that *Excises* put the Trader under a *new Set of Laws*, unknown to our antient Constitution, and deprive Him of that inestimable Privilege, to which he is so justly intitled by *Magna Charta*, and of which he ought to be inflexibly tenacious; a *Trial by Juries*.

* *Attorney-General of Jamaica.*

It

It is therefore very candid in the * *Letter-writer*, so readily to acknowledge all the fine Things I have said of this invaluable Bulwark of the British Liberty to be true; and if it hath been found by frequent Experience to be equally true, as He asserts, that this Method of Trial is, in many Instances, liable to Exceptions, He will not surely contend that This is a Reason for taking it away, when He hath admitted that it screens the Small from the Oppression of the Great, and the Subject from the unjust Resentment of the Prince, or the Violence of his Ministers.— But by whom are these Objections to such Trials started? Why by One, who pleads openly for granting new Powers to the Prince, or his Minister; and therefore may be justly suspected of being more in the Interest of the Crown than the People. I have read Volumes upon Volumes, in Behalf of this glorious Privilege; but the Letter-writer is the first Author within the Compass of my Reading, who hath professedly employ'd his Pen to depreciate it. Nay, I believe I may venture to defy Him, or his Patron, to produce one Treatise on the *English Constitution*, in which this Method of Trial is not highly extoll'd, as the great Security and Excellence of it, without any particular Exceptions. This is that sacred Mound, which was raised by our Ancestors to secure the Liberty and Property of every Briton, in his private Capacity, against the Invasions of tyrannical Governors; as Parliaments were instituted to guard our publick Liberties, consider'd as a Society, or aggregate Body. By one, We cannot be legally punish'd, either in our Persons, or our Pockets, without a fair Trial, and the Verdict of our Countrymen. By the other, We are not obliged to pay any Taxes but such as are authorized by the Sanction of our own Deputies; and in both These together consists the very Essence of our Constitution, as a free People.

I am

* Courant, November 11.

I am ready to grant that there are *some Laws now in Force, besides Those relating to the Excises, which empower Those, who have the Administration of Justice delegated to Them, to proceed against various Kinds of Offenders in a summary Way, without a Trial by Juries.* — But to what Cases do *these Laws* extend? Only to such as relate to *Vagabonds, Hedge-stealers* and other *disorderly Persons*, who are known to live by pilfering, or can give no Account of Themselves. Nay, even These have the Liberty, in most Cases, of appealing to a *Quarter Session*; or, if They will not abide the Judgment there, to remove the Cause by *Certiorari* to *Westminster-Hall*; but is this Case in any Degree parallel to the Power and Proceedings of the *Commissioners of Excise*; from whence there is no Appeal but to *inferior Commissioners*, not only equally dependent on the *Crown, or Minister*, but even too much under the Influence and Direction of the *other superior Commissioners*? Besides, the *Fines*, which *Justices of the Peace* are allow'd to levy, are generally so small and trifling, that they hardly deserve mentioning, and for *Crimes* of a very different Nature from Those at present in Dispute; whereas the *Commissioners of Excise* have a Power of fining Men to such a Degree, even for petty Offences, as may prove their Ruin.

How ridiculous therefore is this Manner of Reasoning, when the *Letter-writer* could not be ignorant that the Powers, delegated to *Justices of the Peace*, are, in almost every Instance, subject to the Cognizance and Controul of the Courts in *Westminster*; if the Parties condemn'd think Themselves aggrieved, and are advised to apply there for Relief?

It is true, indeed, that the Parliament hath thought fit, in many Cases, to give *these Gentlemen* larger Powers, within an hundred Years past, than They ever had before; which it is not my Business to condemn; tho' I have heard a *Gentleman of the Law* observe, that it was *giving up our Constitution by Piece-meal*. But I think the Grant

Grant of *such extraordinary Powers* cannot be censured in stronger Terms than the *Letter-writer* himself hath done; when He says, with a very unbecoming Sneeze, that if *this great Jewel of Liberty hath been establish'd and confirm'd by the legislative Power near threescore Times since the Norman Conquest*, as I had observed, it may with equal Truth be affirm'd, that the same Power hath, within little more than a Century only, thought fit to *dispense with it* above three Times as often.

He is then pleas'd to appeal to ME, *from my own EXPERIENCE, whether the Rights and Freedoms of the People, with Regard to their Persons and their Properties, were ever so extensive, or so well guarded, or protected, against any Inroachments from the Crown in any Age, since the first Foundation of the British Monarchy, as they are at present.*

I really wish the *Gentleman* had not appeal'd to ME, upon this Occasion; for I am sorry to say that I cannot give Him any Answer to his Satisfaction; though I think myself very cool, very dispassionate, and far from falling into any Convulsions.

He could not surely be unacquainted with my Opinion, concerning the Powers assumed by *Secretaries and Messengers of State*; as well as the *Method of prosecuting Writers*, by *INFORMATIONS and SPECIAL JURIES, struck by an Officer of the Crown*; which I have intimated, as plainly as I could with Decency and Safety, to be a little inconsistent with *Magna Charta* and the common *Privileges of Englishmen*. It is somewhat surprizing, I say, that the *Letter-writer* should be ignorant of my Sentiments on these Heads; since I have already publish'd several Papers upon them, and have some more still behind, which the Publick may expect to see, upon a proper Occasion.

We have not, indeed, lately had any Instances of *cruel Whippings, Brandings, sitting of Noses, or cutting off Ears*, for what is commonly call'd *Libelling*; *such Punishments* being now declared *illegal*; but as far as the

the *present Laws* could possibly extend, I do not think myself obliged to acknowledge any *Favour*; and when I review the *State Tracts of former Reigns*, compared with Those of late Years, I am surprized at the noble Boldness of my Countrymen, in attacking the Measures of *Ministers*, and even the personal Characters and Conduct of the *Prince*, or the *immediate Successor to the Throne*, at a Time, when there was no *Freedom of the Press*, and before the *Liberties of the People* were establish'd by any *Bill of Rights*, or *Limitations from the Crown*.

I thought thus much necessary, by Way of Digression, to shew the *Letter-writer's* Want of Judgment, in appealing to *Me*, upon this Occasion.— Let us now proceed to some other Parts of the same Paper.

It is true, that the ancient Laws of this Kingdom have always had a particular Regard for the *Revenues of the Crown*, and allow'd shorter Methods of Proceeding than *private Persons* are permitted to take with their Debtors. Our wise Ancestors were induced to make this Distinction in the Laws, because They esteem'd the *Revenues of the Crown* to be set apart for the general Benefit, Security and Protection of the *whole People*. They look'd on the *Prince* as their *common Father*; to whom they might always fly for Redress from Injustice and Oppression. It was constantly understood by Them, that the *Revenues of the Crown* were in their own Nature appropriated to the *publick Service*, and could not without Violence be diverted, or anticipated to any other Purposes; nor, indeed, was it ever pretended by the *Courtiers*, till the Accession of King *James the first*, that *these Revenues* were a *private Patrimony*, and design'd only for *domestick Uses*, or to be disposed of at the Pleasure of the *Prince*. But though the *Crown* is not obliged to go through all the *ordinary Forms and Processes of Law*; yet certainly it is not at Liberty to act *contrary to Law*; nor can the *King*, any more than a *Subject*, seize on any Man's Estate, whether the Debt arise

arise by *Bond* or otherwise, till a *Jury of twelve Men*, legally impanel'd, have found, by Proof on Oath, that the Debt is really due to the Crown, and in what Sum. Nay, even after This, the Person hath a Remedy, if He thinks himself aggrieved, by bringing his Bill, or Action, against the Crown; and many Instances may be produced of Cases, where these Demands have not been allow'd in *Westminster-Hall*.

If This is the true State of the Case, I was not misinform'd, when I said *that in all other Cases, except the Excise, the Dispute between the Crown and the Subject is left to the Determination of a Jury*. The Letter-writer is Himself misinform'd, when He says that *it is far otherwise*; and He might have spared Himself the Trouble of that fine-spun Comment on the *Genius of the Laws of England*, as He terms it, *which hath always watch'd with peculiar and distinguishing Marks of Care and Favour over the royal Revenues*; for though it may be true, *that it would be neither decent nor prudent for the Sovereign Power, wherever it is lodged, to have its Attention taken off from the Concerns of the Publick, by perpetual Contests and Embarrassments with its own Subjects*; That is, according to my former Observation, when the Prince is consider'd in his *publick Capacity*, as the *Administrator of Government*; yet I can see no Reason why He should be exempted, in his *private Character*, from the same * *dilatory and expensive Methods, which are prescribed by the Rules of Westminster-Hall, in the ordinary Suits between Subject and Subject*.

This Discrimination cannot be thought unreasonable, when it is consider'd that the *Legislature* itself thought fit, at the *Revolution*, to make the same Distinction between the *publick Revenues of the Nation*, and the *private Expences of the Prince*, by appropriating a particular Sum, under the Name of the *Civil List*, which
hath

* *Courant, Nov. 25.*

bath since been very amply increased, for the Maintenance of the *royal Household*, and the *Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown*.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Head, because the *Letter-Writer* hath made it the Subject of two whole Papers, and talk'd of *Prerogative* in a much higher Strain than I think becomes a good *Englishman*, since that memorable *Æra*, when our *Liberties* received a new Confirmation; but as Mr. **Osborne* hath thought fit to recommend the *Growth of Prerogative* to my Care, I shall take a proper Opportunity of examining that Affair, and setting it in as clear a Light as I am able.

The *Letter-Writer* charges me with being *as much mistaken in my next Assertion; where I affirm, that in all Disputes between the Crown and the Subject, in Cases relating to the Customs, the Merits of the Cause are left to the Decision of the Law, according to ancient Usage, in the ordinary Courts of Justice. Now it unfortunately happens, says He, that the Fact is quite otherwise; and to prove This, He instances the Statute of the 6th Year of the late King, empowering Justices of the Peace to condemn run, uncustom'd Goods in the same summary Way, without the Concurrence of a Jury.* He then exults in the following Strain. *I could wish, indeed, that unlucky Law had been repeal'd, before the Gentleman had engaged his Pen in the present Enquiry; because, if not the Constitution, yet at least all his fine, elaborate Arguments have been subverted by it; and all the ingenious Objections, that He hath rais'd against Excises, will, whilst that Act continues in Force, be equally strong against Customs, and in some Respect or other affect every Branch of the publick Revenues.* — Would not any Body naturally conclude from hence, that *this Act* was a *Custom-house Law*, and the Execution of it put under the *Commissioners of that Office?*

* See the *London Journal*, Nov. 18, 1732.

Whereas it is an *Excise Law*, in the strictest Sense, and particularly complain'd of as such in * *one of my former Papers*. The *Letter-Writer* therefore might as well have mention'd the famous *Tea-Act*, or any other *Excise Law*, as an Instance that the *Customs* are liable to the same Objections, which I have made against *Excises*. But This is such a flagrant *Evasion* and *Fallacy*, (to give it the softest Name) as any fair Reasoner would scorn to make use of, and can be calculated with no other Design than to impose on Those, who are unacquainted with such Affairs, or may not give themselves the Trouble of consulting *Acts of Parliament*.

Let the Reader therefore determine, whether the *Letter-Writer* had any Reason to triumph in such an extraordinary Manner, as if he had clinch'd the Argument at once; or rather whether he ought not to be ashamed of having Recourse to so mean and scandalous an Expedient.

I am however glad to find it admitted by *this Gentleman*, that a Tax, which, in our Constitution, is nothing more than a voluntary Contribution of the People, to defray the Expences of the Government, ought to be levied without any Circumstances of Severity, or Rigour, — And that the Crown, or Persons employed in the Collection of it, are accountable for every Shilling of it to the Representatives of the People. — But I can by no means agree with Him, that an Excise is the readiest, easiest and cheapest Method of collecting Taxes, as well for Those that are to pay, as Those that are to receive these Contributions; or that the People ought not to puzzle themselves with idle and useless Enquiries, whether or no the Method proposed is conformable to the ancient Way of gathering the publick Revenues: — It certainly behoves a free People to regard the ancient Ways, or Land-marks; and whatever this

* See Page 42.

Writer may think, it is far from being *perfectly indifferent to the fair and generous Trader, whether He pays Excises, or Customs; or whether He is under the Laws of one, or the other;* for herein consists the Difference to the *Trader*, consider'd only in that Capacity; and though *some Persons*, who want to increase their Power, may desire to have it believed that an *Excise* will affect only a *few little, tricking, clandestine Dealers;* there are *others*, who can shew that it will establish the iniquitous Traffick of *such Men*, and be prejudicial only to the *fair and generous Trader*.

It is acknowledged by Us, and We have taken no small Pains to prove it, that all Duties must ultimately fall upon the * *Consumer*; and therefore We argued that an *Excise upon imported Commodities*, necessary and convenient for Life, is really a *Tax upon the whole People*; but We observed, at the same Time, that it is not only a *Badge of Slavery* upon the *Merchant and Trader*, who think themselves *Englishmen and Freeman*, as well as their Fellow-Subjects; but is likewise a Clog upon their *Trade*, and must necessarily reduce it, as well as the *Revenues*, by inhancing the *Price of Commodities* so excised.

It therefore betrays the great Ignorance, or something worse, of the *Letter-Writer*, both in the Theory and Practice of *Trade*, when He argues that because the Weight of all *Taxes* centers at last upon the *Consumer*, no Part of the Burthen can possibly fall upon the *Dealer*. It is reasonable to believe, and We know it by Experience, that the *Dealer* always includes the *Taxes*, as well as *other extraordinary Charges*, occasion'd by them, in the Price of his Commodities; and therefore the *Consumer*, may be justly said to pay them, in the last Resort; but will *this Gentleman* pretend to assert that *Taxes* bring no Burthen, no Difficulty, or Loss upon the *Trader*, by taking the Money immediately

* See Page 49.

out of his Pocket, which He could otherwise employ to great Advantage, and giving a Check to the Circulation of his *Trade*? It is the *Plenty*, or *Scarcity* of any Commodity, in Proportion to its *Vent* and *Demand*, which must always rule in these Cases, and by which the *Trader* will make more or less Profit in his Dealings. *All Things*, says Mr. Locke, *that are bought and sold, raise and fall their Price, as there are more Buyers, or Sellers. Where there are a great many Sellers to a few Buyers; there, use what Art you will, the Thing to be sold will be cheap. On the other Side, turn the Tables, and raise up a great many Buyers for a few Sellers, and the same Thing will immediately grow dear*—The Truth of this Observation is demonstrated by Experience, in almost all our Duties upon Commodities in general, and fully exposes the Absurdity of the *Letter-Writer's* general Argument, *that whatever temporary Inconveniency the Dealer may sustain, either by the Duty itself, or by the Method of collecting it, the Consumer bears the Burthen of it all at last; and that an Excise is so far from carrying that Terror and Air of arbitrary Power along with it, that on the contrary it is, in a thousand Instances, undeniably true that the Trader reaps considerable Advantages from it, and knows how to levy the Duty upon his Customers with much greater Severity than the Officer levies it upon Him, and laughs in his Sleeve, no doubt, to find Himself mention'd, upon this Account, in Terms of so much Pity and Commiseration.*

This is a most extraordinary Way of Reasoning, and would equally serve to justify the Imposition of any *Taxes on Trade*, no matter how high, or in what manner collected. But whatever *this Writer*, or his *Patron*, may think, such Methods of Proceeding, by laying grievous Impositions on *Trade*, have already deprived us of some valuable Branches of it. They have been a great Discouragement to others; and, if pursued much farther, will be attended with such a Diminution

Diminution of our *Importations* (the necessary Consequence of lessening our *Exportations*) as to occasion not only a great Decrease of the *publick Revenues*, but Want of Employment for considerable Numbers of our *Traders, Manufacturers and Artificers*, as well as for our *Ships* and our *Seamen*.

If therefore it were really true, that the *Consumer* bore the whole Burthen of *all Taxes* laid upon *Commodities*, whether they are collected at the *Excise-Office*, or the *Custom-House*; yet surely his Ease and Benefit, in the Manner of paying them, is not the only Point to be consulted, without having any Regard to the *Trader*; though the *Buyer* may pay Him back every Farthing of the Money, which He originally disbursed for the *Duty*, with a considerable *Premium*, as it is alledged, for *prompt Payment*. This seems to be a very odd Doctrine, in a *trading Nation*, and must no doubt be highly agreeable to the *mercantile Part* of it.

On the contrary, We lay it down as a Maxim, eternally true, that the greatest Regard ought to be paid to *Merchants*, who are the Springs and Life of all our *foreign and domestick Trade*, by the Stocks They employ in it; and that all Discouragements, which are laid upon *Them*, are so many Discouragements to the *Trade* of the Nation in general.

But even a total Conversion of the *Customs* into *Excises* would be so far from being of any *Ease* or *Benefit* to the *Consumer*, (supposing his Interest only is to be consider'd) that it would have a quite contrary Effect. It cannot be any *Ease* to the *Consumer*, to lie under the Necessity of having a *Permit* for any Quantity of Goods, which He may have Occasion to buy at one Time, beyond the *Quantity fix'd by Act of Parliament*; or to have his House liable to the Inspection of *Excise Officers* at all Hours, if He should purchase more than *such Quantity*. Nor can it be any *Benefit*, to pay dearer than otherwise for what He may consume,

234 A P P E N D I X.

fume, and run the Hazard of having his Goods seized, if sent without a *Permit*, or not deliver'd within the *Time* allow'd by it.

If there are several unanswerable Objections against *Excises*, on other Accounts, (as undoubtedly there are) it can be no substantial Argument in their Favour, though *it could be demonstrated*, as the *Letter-Writer* asserts, *that those Revenues, which are under the Care of the Commissioners of Excise, are under better Regulations, and are collected with much less Expence than any other whatever; or that the whole Charge of paying and maintaining this standing Army of Excise Officers amounts to no more than barely Six-pence in the Pound.* But it is well known that *these Revenues* are not collected at less Expence than any others *whatever*. The *Land-Tax*, for Instance, will produce more Money with less Charge of Collection; and I have been inform'd, by Persons conversant in these Affairs, that a *Sbilling in the Pound* will not answer all the Expences of collecting and better securing the *Duties of Excise*. However, it will be Time enough for *this Writer* to compliment the *Commissioners of that Office*, at the Cost of the *Commissioners of the Customs*, when his Assertions, on this Head, shall appear confirm'd by Facts laid before *Those*, who have a Right to enquire into the Charges of collecting and securing all the *publick Revenues*.

I have been pretty large in my Observations on *this Paper*, because it contains the chief Substance of his Argument; which He hath only spun out in the succeeding ones, and endeavour'd to enforce with wordy Comments, of little Weight, when duly consider'd.

In his next Letter *, (to take them in Course) He complains of *prevailing Prejudices and popular Opinions*; and seems very uneasy, *that I have secured the Attention and obtain'd the Approbation of the Publick, by falling in*

* Courant, Nov. 18.

with

with this favourite Humour.—I have taken some cursory Notice of *these Complaints*, in † one of my former Papers, and shall only add, that the *publick Approbation of my Writings, upon the Subject*, is a sufficient Reason for a *wise Man* to give up a *Scheme*, which appears to be so disagreeable to the Inclinations of the whole Kingdom. This will be the only Way to deprive Me of so *popular a Topick*; and I wish to God that He may soon do it!—But I must put his *Advocate* in Mind, that He seems to be a little unhappy in his Comparison, upon this Occasion; for it is not the *Craftsman*, but a *much more powerful Gentleman, who comes arm'd in Brass, like the great GOLIAH, the Champion of the PHILISTINES, and bids Defiance to the Host of ISRAEL.*

We are ready to admit, *that human Wisdom hath never yet been able to frame one such plain, simple, general System of Laws, as to comprehend all Cases, Circumstances and Occasions.* We likewise acknowledge, *that those illustrious Patriots, who make the most shining Figure in the British Annals for their great Abilities and unshaken Integrity, have always been the most forward to propose, and the most zealous to support the making Changes and Alterations in the Laws and Customs of their Country.*—But with *this Writer's* Leave, the *Changes and Alterations*, which *those Patriots* have made, were of a different Nature from That, which He is contending for at present: They were calculated to secure the People from the *Power and Influence of the Crown*; not to give *additional Power and Influence to it.* They were *Changes and Alterations*, which They found necessary to *preserve the Constitution free and uncorrupt*; not to put it in the Power of the *Prince, or Minister, to subvert it.* And though *this Gentleman* may be led by Interest to compare the *Changes and Alterations*, made by those

† See Page 34.

236 APPENDIX.

illustrious Patriots in former Times, with the *Projects* now in Agitation; there are Few, I believe, so weak, as to approve the Comparison, or to look upon *those Gentlemen*, whom He calls with a Sneer the *Patriots of our own Times*, as a desperate Set of Conspirators, who are engaged in a Design of *tearing up the Constitution by the Roots, and subverting the whole Order of Things*; because They have endeavour'd to *redress several Grievances*, and to *reform some Abuses*, which have crept into the Frame of our Government.

If This should appear to be the Case, They have done their Duty, and the Nation, whose Interest They have consulted, will acknowledge their Services; notwithstanding the slanderous Imputations, which the *Letter-Writer* and his *Associates* may endeavour to fix upon Them. When *Projects* are concerted and openly avow'd, for loading the People with *new Excises*, it is high Time for Them to *take Fire*, and endeavour to defeat them. I don't know whom *this Gentleman* may mean by *Those, whose Duty it is to offer such Proposals to the Parliament*. I hope nobody will think it *his Duty* to do it; or, at least, that the *Parliament* will think it *their Duty* to reject it. But if He means the *Ministers*, I must beg Leave to put Him in Mind that *those Gentlemen* have no particular Privileges, or Functions, in the *House of Commons*. They may advise his Majesty to recommend any Thing, which They judge for the publick Service, to the Consideration of *Parliament*; and, if They are *Members*, may endeavour to support it by Speaking and Voting; but They have no Preheminence there above *other Gentlemen*; nor ought their Recommendation to be deem'd, in any Manner, authoritative. They are to be consider'd only, in *that Place*, as Persons representing some *particular Body of the People*; and, in Conjunction with other Members, making Laws for the Good of the whole Kingdom.—This is the only Light, in which the *Servants of the Crown* ought to be look'd upon, in
that

that Assembly; and though some Gentlemen may be more immediately concern'd than Others, that Supplies be granted, and Funds raised to answer them; They move both the one and the other, as Members of Parliament, not as Ministers. We may reasonably suppose, indeed, that They often weigh such Points in their own Minds, before They move them in the House; but I believe the Parliament will not allow any Man to tell Them, that He hath settled the manner of raising the Supplies, in his own Closet; and therefore it requires no farther Consideration—But to proceed.

If it is true, that the Laws of Excise lay the Trader under greater Hardships and Difficulties than Those, relating to the Customs; that they carry more Terror, and are executed with more Rigour; I think, in such a Case, the Traders ought not to be subjected to them; though the Savings to the Publick, in the Expence of collecting the Revenue, should be as considerable, as the Letter-Writer would willingly have us believe; for though He is pleased to call Them a few particular Persons, They are certainly the most considerable Body of Men in the whole Kingdom; and therefore ought not to be oppress'd, or distinguish'd with Badges of Slavery, in this Manner. As to his other Arguments about the general Benefits, which will accrue to the Nation from this Scheme, they are so contrary to Reason, Experience and Demonstration, that they deserve no Answer.

In the Conclusion of this Paper, the Gentleman recurs to his former Topick of *Prerogative*, and acquaints us once more that there are other Cases between the Crown and the Subject, besides Those of *Excises*, where the latter hath not the Privilege of being tried by a Jury. I have said enough upon this Head already; but the Gentleman having been at the Trouble of consulting his *Law-Books*, and rummaging up an old Statute, which He seems to think very much to the Purpose: it may be thought unfair, perhaps, to let it pass

pass intirely without Observation. He tells us, *that by the Statute of 33 Hen. 8. cap. 39. every Bond made to the King is in the Nature of a Statute Staple. Now a Statute Staple, says He, is an Instrument, or Assurance in Law, by Vertue of which the Creditor may immediately have Execution against the Body, Lands and Goods of the Debtor, upon Non-payment, without being obliged to go through the ordinary Proceffes of the Law; or to submit his Cause to the Determination of a Jury*—But, what is all This to the present Purpose? *A Statute Staple* is of the same Nature with what is commonly call'd a *Bond and Judgment*; by which We all know that a *private Creditor*, as well as the *Crown*, may proceed immediately to *Execution*; and if the *Debtor* thinks fit to preclude Himself from a *legal Trial*, by *confessing Judgment*, it is his own *Act*, and He cannot blame the *Law* for it; but how can This be compared to the Case of *Excises*, where the *Trader* is deprived of *this Privilege* by *Compulsion*, and without any *voluntary Deed* from Himself?

The *Letter-Writer* tells us farther, *that what We call a dangerous Innovation is as old as the British Monarchy itself; for by the common Law the King's Debtor, or Accomptant, was never intitled to the Privilege of a Trial by a Jury; but his Body, Lands and Goods might, at the first Instance, be swept away by an Execution, at the Suit of the Crown.*

As I formerly dedicated some Part of my Time to the Study of the *Law*, and have long had the Honour to be a *Bencher of Gray's-Inn*, I could not be ignorant that the *Crown*, in ancient Times, was indulged with great Advantages over every Man, who was indebted to it. I have already pointed out the Reasons, which induced our Ancestors to grant these Indulgences, or Prerogatives, to the *Crown*; yet, even in those Cases, I apprehend that the Debt must be either acknowledged by *Bond*, as I observed before, or proved by a *proper Inquisition*; That is, a *Jury*. But supposing that I put
the

the Case a little too *general*, (which I cannot yet see any Reason to admit) and that there are still some *old Remnants of Prerogative*, which deprive the Subject of *this Right* in particular Cases, relating to the *Crown*; how can That affect the Matter in Debate? It cannot be denied, I am sure, that in the *Laws of Customs*, properly so call'd, *this Right of Englishmen* hath been always preserved; and therefore the *Traders* act a very wise Part, in endeavouring to preserve Themselves from the Power of *another Set of Laws*, by which it will be taken away.

The *Gentleman* proceeds, in his next Paper, to the Consideration whether *Excises* are attended with such Hardships on the *Dealers* as I have represented; and begins with mistating the Substance of my Argument in both the Articles, which He undertakes to consider; for We find Him summing it up in these Words; *that all Delinquents are to be tried by Commissioners, appointed by the Crown, who MUST OF CONSEQUENCE be very partial and severe in all Causes, that They are to sit in Judgment upon, in favour of the Revenue; and that no Man is admitted to have a full Power over his own Goods, 'TILL HE HATH PAID THE DUTY FOR THEM.*

This, I say, is a direct Misrepresentation of the State of my Argument, on *both Heads*.—I shall begin with that Part, which relates to the *Commissioners*.

And here it must be observed, that it was the *extraordinary, unlimited Power, granted to the Commissioners*, rather than the *Exercise* of it, which I made the Subject of my Complaint. I said, indeed, *that We cannot be surprized if Persons, invested with such a Power, under strict Injunctions to make the Improvement of the Revenue their constant Study, and dependent on the Pleasure of the Crown for the Continuance of their Places, should MANY TIMES act as if They thought it their Duty to be severe; because the more Fines They lay upon the Subject, the more Money They bring*

bring into the King's Coffers ; nor that bad Men may be tempted to make This the Tenure, by which They hold their Places. This is the Substance of my Complaint, on the first Article ; and I still think it founded on irrefragable Arguments. But does This amount to saying, that they MUST OF CONSEQUENCE be very partial and severe in ALL CAUSES, that They sit in Judgment upon in Favour of the Revenue ?—It must surely be a very bad Cause, which stands in need of such partial and scandalous Representations of an Adversary's Argument.

Indeed, the *Letter-Writer* tells us, *that this Part of the Objection against Excises is founded on my own Supposition, without even attempting to produce the least Evidence of the Rigour and Injustice I complain of, to support this unfair and groundless Assertion.*

He then goes on, for a Page or two together, in his old exulting Strain ; which is so very remarkable, that a Quotation of some Part of it will be necessary for the better Illustration of my Argument, and I dare say will prove an agreeable Diversion to the Reader.

“ I fancy, *says He*, every Body will agree with
 “ Me in This, however They may differ with Me in
 “ other Parts of this Dispute ; that the *Gentleman*,
 “ who understands so well to *inforce and throw the*
 “ *most trivial and slightest Circumstances, which make*
 “ *for his Argument, in the strongest Light*, would not
 “ have omitted mentioning, as He hath done, so
 “ much as *one single Instance*, wherein the *Commis-*
 “ *sioners of Excise* have been guilty of the least Partiality, in Prejudice of the *Subject*.—It ought therefore to be concluded, by every reasonable Man,
 “ that there cannot be found *one Fact* amongst all
 “ those various Controversies, which every Day arise,
 “ and are brought in Judgment before *those Gentlemen*,
 “ to ground such a Complaint upon ; because, if
 “ *such a Thing* had ever happen'd, it is impossible to
 “ suppose that *He* should not use his utmost Care and
 “ Application

“ Application to inform Himself fully of it; who, in
 “ all other Cases, is so extremely diligent and in-
 “ dustrious to sift out every *little Error*, or *Mistake*,
 “ which He imagines hath been committed in any
 “ Branch of the Administration, and applauds Himself
 “ so marvelously on the Discovery. — I will make no
 “ Reflections upon the Disingenuity of a *Writer*, who
 “ pretends to have nothing but the publick Good in
 “ View; and who yet can sit down and wilfully,
 “ and considerately, without even so much as *common*
 “ Report to justify Him in it, endeavour to throw an
 “ Odium upon a great Number of *Gentlemen of For-*
 “ *tune and Distinction*, as such abject Tools of Power,
 “ as to be capable of doing the most flagrant Acts of
 “ Injustice.

This Gentleman is always apt to sound a Victory,
 before He hath got any Share of the Field; as it most
 unluckily happens at present; for can my *Silence*, on
 this Head, or not producing any *particular Instance of*
Hardships, to support my Complaint, be thought a con-
 clusive Argument, that there is really *no such Case* in
 Being, notwithstanding his shreud Remarks on my
great Industry and Application in other Cases? I confined
 myself, in that Paper, to general Topicks; and reason'd
 upon the Danger of extending *such a Power* any farther,
 as inconsistent with the Nature of our *Constitution*. This
 I think evident beyond all Dispute; for supposing that
 it was never yet applied to any *bad Use*; can We pro-
 mise ourselves, with any Assurance, that it never will;
 or be pleas'd to see such a Rod always hanging over our
 Heads? I wish *this Gentleman* would be pleas'd to re-
 member the Expression of his *Patron*, on a certain me-
 morable Occasion, relating to the ARMY; *viz He,*
that gives the POWER OF BLOOD, gives BLOOD; which I think may be justly applied to *other Cases of*
Severity, besides *Life and Death*. For this Reason, I
 contented myself with arguing upon *general Principles*,
 and thought fit to decline the invidious Task of entering

into *Particulars*; but since the *Letter-Writer* hath been pleased to insist so much upon *this Head*, and to strain a Point of *Tenderness* and *Candour* into a Proof of *Disingenuity* and *deliberate Calumny*, against the Conviction of my own Mind; I am obliged in Honour to justify myself; and if what I am going to produce, for that Purpose, should happen to prove disagreeable to the *Gentlemen of the Excise*, they must thank their *Advocate* for it, who hath made it necessary to my *own Vindication*.

The *Letter-Writer* therefore must give me Leave to ask Him, whether He never saw, or heard of a certain *Treatise*, intitled, *Remarks on the horrible Oppressions, Insolences, and unjustifiable Partialities of the COMMISSIONERS OF EXCISE; with some historical Collections of Matter of Fact*.

If He should be an utter Stranger to *this Tract*, (as He seems to be, by his Manner of Reasoning) I must acquaint Him, that it was printed in the Year 1706, and supposed to be written by the Direction, at least, of that worthy Magistrate, JOHN FULLER, Esq; one of the *late Sheriffs for this County*.

It contains, according to its Title, several grievous Charges of *Partiality, Insolence and Oppression*, against the *Commissioners* at that Time, in the Execution of their Office; particularly with Relation to the said Mr. Fuller and Mr. Mackley, two eminent Distillers; who, having been very active in soliciting and obtaining some *Parliamentary Regulations of the Excise*, in Opposition to the *Commissioners*, though for the Benefit of the *Revenue*, were violently prosecuted, upon false Accusations, (as it is alledged) by the *said Commissioners*.

The particular Circumstances of *both their Cases* are related with such Asperity of Expression, in the Book now before me, that I chuse to omit them; and shall only observe that Mr. Fuller's Daughter, whose Goods had been distrain'd upon an *Information*, recover'd *Damages and Costs of Suit* from the *Officers* employ'd in
in

in it ; and that Mr. *Mackley*, being charged with *corrupting an Officer*, was honourably acquitted at the *Old Bailey* ; where He was try'd upon an Indictment, by Way of Ignominy ; not being allow'd to remove the Cause, by *Certiorari*, to a superior Court ; though He requested it of the *Commissioners*, in a very humble Manner.

The same Charge of *Partiality, Insolence and Oppression*, in the Conduct of *those Officers*, is supported by *several other Instances*, at the End of *this Book* ; which I shall likewise subjoin, by Way of * *Appendix* to these Papers, for the Information and Curiosity of the Publick. I cannot, indeed, take upon myself to vouch for the Truth of *the Cases*, as They are here stated ; but I publish Them, as I find Them ; and They will serve, at least, to destroy the *Letter-Writer's* Charge against me, of *endeavouring to throw an Odium upon Gentlemen of Fortune and Distinction, without even so much as* COMMON REPORT *to justify me in it.*

I am inform'd, by Letter, of another Case, which deserves mentioning. The *Commissioners of Excise* enter'd Judgment for a large Sum of Money, against *William Green Esq* ; an eminent Brewer, long since dead ; but upon Notice that He design'd to petition the *House of Commons* against Them, They reversed the Judgment, by writing under it *erroneous*. However, Mr. *Green* petition'd ; upon which Occasion, as I am inform'd, that remarkable Clause was inserted in an Act, for disabling the *Commissioners of Excise* from sitting in the *House of Commons*, and inflicting a severe Penalty on their *Under-Officers*, in Case They should endeavour to *influence Voters, in Elections for Members of Parliament.*

As to the *Commissioners being Gentlemen of Fortune and Distinction*, it is quite foreign to the Purpose ; for no Man ought to be trusted with *arbitrary Power* ; not even the *King Himself* ; nor does our *Constitution* invest

* See the Appendix, N^o 1.

Him with it. Shall a *Subject* therefore, a *subordinate Minister*, of whatever *Fortune* or *Distinction* He may be, enjoy a greater Plenitude of Power than *Majesty* itself; especially, when We consider that the Duty of a *precarious Office* may induce Him to act contrary to his natural Inclinations? — It is too much like the Case of the *Frogs* in the Fable, when *Jupiter* placed a *Stork* to rule over them; but We ought to remember that This was done for their *Punishment*, not their *Protection*.

I do not apply This to the *present Commissioners*; and am far from intending to accuse Them of any *such Oppressions, Insolences, or Partialities*, as were laid to the Charge of *their Predecessors*. On the contrary, I am willing to believe Them, in general, as *worthy Gentlemen* as ever fill'd that *Board*; and One of Them having formerly been a *Trader* Himself, though now advanced to such a Post of *Distinction*; Those, whom He hath left behind Him in Business, may depend upon all the Indulgence and Lenity, which the Duty of his Office will admit; for I must repeat my Apprehensions, in this Place, that *these Gentlemen* are not at Liberty to construe Things in the most *favourable Sense*, as it is the Duty of *other Judges* to do, in *criminal Cases*; but are obliged, even by the *Oath* They take to turn the Balance, in all doubtful Points, on the Side of the *Revenue*.

Give me Leave to mention only *one Case*, which is still fresh in our Memories; I mean the famous *Port Act*; by which all *Visuallers, Inn-holders* and *Retailers of Beer, or Ale*, were obliged to pay a certain yearly Sum, to be fix'd at the Discretion of the *Commissioners of the Excise*, for a Licence to sell the said Liquors; in Consideration of which a Clause was inserted, for *their Benefit*, prohibiting Them to *send any Pots out of their Houses, or any Quantity of Liquor less than a Gallon*; which being found prejudicial to their Business, is since repeal'd, and only the *pecuniary Part of the Act* remains in Force. But the *Case* I mean was as follows.

Mr.

APPENDIX. 245

Mr. *Trueby*, an eminent Vintner in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, was summon'd before the *Commissioners*, upon *this Act*; being accused of having made a *Bill*, in which He charged *Bread*; from whence it was concluded that He did not give his *small Beer* away; though I am told it was not specify'd under any particular Article. This being proved by the Evidence of an *Informer*, He was convicted, and forced to take out a *Licence*; as all Persons of the *same Profession* have been likewise obliged to do since.

It was the general Opinion, at that Time, that none but *Whollers*, *Inn-keepers*, and *Retailers of Beer* were design'd by the *Legislature* to be included in *this Act*; and as They are neither particularly mention'd in it, nor could possibly receive any Benefit by it; I must leave the World to judge whether the same Interpretation would have been put upon it, by a *Jury* in *Westminster-Hall*.

I have likewise received many Letters from Persons of different *Trades* (such as *Brewers*, *Distillers*, *Starch-Makers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, &c.) complaining of great Hardships and Severities in the Management of their Business, by the *Laws of Excise*; but as They do not immediately affect the *present Point*, concerning the farther Extension of *these Laws*, it may be thought needless to trouble the Reader with any of their particular Cases. I shall only observe that all, or most of *these Accounts* were occasion'd, as my Correspondents inform me, by the *Letter-Writer's* Assertion, *that not one Example can be produced of any such Hardships*, and *that the Commissioners* are, and have always been, *rather favourable to the Trader than the Crown*.

To These I may add the late publick Declarations of the *principal Druggists* and *Grocers* in this City; setting forth their great Hardships and Sufferings by the *Laws of Excise*; which have already induced some of Them to leave off their Trade, and will oblige others to do the same, if They should be *further extended*.

And here I must observe that the *Letter-Writer* had the consummate Assurance to assert, that the *severest and most obnoxious Clauses in the Excise-Act* upon Tea, &c. were advised by the principal Druggists in Town, who were consulted upon that Occasion. This is so shameful a Falsity and such an Insult on the common Understandings, as well as the Misfortunes of *those Gentlemen*, that They have thought fit to undeceive the World, and purge Themselves, in the strongest Manner, from such an Imputation, by a publick Certificate in all the *News-Papers*; which the Reader may likewise find in the * *Appendix*.

Let the World therefore judge whether FACT and EXPERIENCE are not the *Letter-Writer's old and constant Enemies*, rather than mine.

I do not lay any of these Hardships, as I observed before, to the Charge of the present *Commissioners*, who are obliged to execute the *Laws*, as They find Them. It is the *Power itself*, of which We complain, to whomsoever it may be delegated; and therefore nothing can be more ridiculous than the *Letter-Writer's* Reasonings, in Favour of *such a Power*, from the personal Characters, or Circumstances of the *Gentlemen in that Commission*. He might as well have argued that the *Laws of Excise* do not deprive us of the *antient Method of Tryal*, established by *Magna Charta*, because the *Commissioners* hold their Court in the OLD JURY.

In the remaining Part of *this Paper*, the Gentleman undertakes to shew the Preference of *Excise Laws*, when compared to *Those of Customs*, from several considerable Circumstances, in Favour of the *former*.

One is taken from the dilatory and expensive Forms of Proceeding in the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*; which He calls an *insupportable Grievance to the Subject*. I am afraid there is too much Reason for this heavy Censure on the *modern Practice of the Law*; but I hope We do

* See the Appendix, Numb. 2.

not yet stand in need of so desperate a Remedy as the summary Process of the *Excise Laws*; which I apprehend to be infinitely worse than the Disease itself. Besides, *this Grievance* is common to all Cases of *Property*, as well as the *Revenue*; and therefore his Argument will hold equally strong for putting the Execution of all our Laws into the *same compendious Method*. Nay, it will serve to justify the Proceedings of a *Star-Chamber*, an *Inquisition*, or any other arbitrary Court whatsoever.

Another Circumstance, alledged by this *Writer*, in Favour of *Excises*, is the Power reposed in the *Commissioners*, to mitigate the Severity of the Law, by remitting the Penalties of it, either in whole, or in Part, as They think fit, after Conviction; and This, says He, the *Barons of the Exchequer* are not authorized to do. Now, if This is any Grievance to the Subject, in *Westminster-Hall*, how easily might it be remedy'd, without an *Excise*, by only giving the *Barons of the Exchequer* the same Power? But in my Apprehension, This is so far from being an Argument, in Favour of *Excise Laws*, that it is one of the most material Objections against Them; as it puts it in the Power of the *Commissioners* to favour some Men, and oppress others, just as They may happen to be sway'd by *Friendship*, or *Hatred*; by *Self-interest*, *Party-Prejudice*, the *secret Influence of a Minister*, or any other bad Motives. — There have been many Complaints of this Kind; and I will appeal to every impartial Man, whether such a discretionary Power may not be supposed to have some Influence over Elections?

We have been often told that *Justices of Peace* have the same Power in the Country, which the *Commissioners* have in *London*. This is partly true, and partly not so; for the Office may send *Sub-Commissioners* into the Country, if They please; and They would certainly do it, if the Service of the *Revenue* required it. The *Justices*, indeed, do the Business for them at present; and, I suppose, to Satisfaction; but even *this Power* is

not

not in Favour of the Subject; for *Justices of the Peace* are nominated by the *Crown*, and removcable at Pleasure, like the *Commissioners of Excise*. Besides, the *Officers*, being the *Complainants* in all such Cases, may chuse their *Justices*; and God knows there is a material Difference between Them in most Counties, as well as in *Middlesex*. — If these *Magistrates*, indeed, were chosen by the *People*, as They were formerly, there would be some Force in the Argument; but as the Case stands at present, it is no more to the Purpose than any of the rest.

The greatest Part of the * *next Paper* is another gross Evasion of the Argument; for He supposes me to complain of not having our Goods at our own Disposal *until We have paid the Duty*; whereas the Argument is, as plain as Words can make it, that We have not a Power over our own Goods, even *AFTER the Duty is paid* †. Such a poor Piece of Sophistry deserves no other Notice than barely pointing it out to common Observation. But it may not be amiss to examine some particular Passages in it, relating to the *Traders*.

The *Gentleman* is pleas'd to ask, *whether the Laws of Excise lay the Trader under greater Hardships, in this Respect, than the Laws of the Customs?* — To which He gives Himself this Answer; *certainly They do not*; and, to support his Assertion, He gives us an Extract from the famous *Tea-Act*, so often mention'd, by which He would have it concluded that the *Officers of Excise* are not impower'd, by *that Act*, to enter Houses, and carry away any Goods They may find, suppos'd not to have paid the *Duty*, without a *special Warrant from the Commissioners, or some Justice of Peace*; whereas, if He had thought fit to have recited the preceding Clause of the *same Act*, it would have appear'd *that the Officers of the INLAND DUTIES* (as They are there stiled) *are impower'd from Time to Time, in the Day-*

* Courant, Dec. 2. † See Page 14 of this Volume.
Time,

Time, to enter all Warehouses, &c. and if refused Entrance, or otherwise obstructed, in executing the Powers and Authorities of this Act, the Forfeiture is no less than 100 l. for every Offence.

When the *Letter-Writer* hath garbled the *Statute* to his Purpose, in this Manner, He seems to think Himself sure of the Day again, and cries out in Triumph; *let us now see whether the Laws, relating to the Customs, are more tender, or favourable to the Merchant, or Trader, than Those relating to the Excise*; and to prove that They are not, He quotes a Clause of an Act, 12 Car. II. Cap. 19. but in the Recital of it, according to his Custom of Quotation, changes the Word *MUST* for *MAY*, leaves out the Word *ONLY*, and omits any Mention of a Clause in the said Act, by which *COSTS* and *DAMAGES* are allow'd, if the *Information* prove *false*.

This being the Fact, our *Author's* Arguments, to shew that the *Laws of the Customs* are equally grievous to the *Trader* as the *Laws of Excise*, must fall to the Ground.

I have examined the *Laws of the Customs*, as well as *Those of Excise*, and given the Preference to the *former*, as I found sufficient Reason; for let the *Forfeitures*, on a Breach of *Them*, be never so great; They are far short of the *Penalties*, annex'd to the *other*; and if any Goods are seized, under Pretence that the *Duty* hath not been paid, though the *Onus probandi* generally lies on the Owner, yet He is try'd by a *Jury*, and not by *Crown-Officers*.

But the *Gentleman* insists upon it still that these *Laws* are abundantly more rigorous, in a Multitude of Instances, than the *Laws of Excise*. — We must therefore attend Him a little farther.

The three Clauses, which He cites, (the first from the Act of the 12th of Charles II. Cap. 19th and the two other from that of the 13th and 14th of the same King Cap. 11th.) are not to the Point; since They give the

the *Officer* no Power over any *Man's Goods*, *after the Duties are paid*, which is the Thing I asserted; and it is very extraordinary to find Him quoting another Clause in the *last Act*, and bringing it as a Proof that *customable Commodities cannot be moved without a Permit, any more than exciseable ones*; whereas this Clause was calculated for a quite different End; for when *that Act* was made, all *Goods exported* paid Duty, and the *Warrant, or Sufferance*, was only for carrying them by *Sea* from one Port to another. *This Clause* therefore was design'd, when the *Act* was first made, to serve another Purpose, as it does now; That is, to prove at the Port, to which the Goods were carried, that They had paid *Custom* at the Port, from whence They came; but if these Goods had been, or were to have been sent by *Land* from one Place to another, no such *Warrant, or Sufferance* was required, or necessary.

The *Gentleman* seems to be very much press'd for Arguments, when He produces another Clause of the said *Act*, of the 13th and 14th of Charles the II^d, to prove that by the *Laws of Customs*, as well as by the *Laws of Excise*, Offenders are punish'd in a *summary Way*, without a *Trial by a Jury*; for let us consider the Nature of *this Clause*. It is a Clause to secure the *Duties of Customs*, by preventing the Landing of Goods, BEFORE the Duties are paid, and declaring that no Goods, upon which any Customs are due, shall be brought on Shore, or carry'd on board any Ship outward-bound, without a Warrant, or in the Presence of an Officer, under the Penalty of 100 l. to the Master, or Purser of the said Ship, and the Wharfinger, where the Goods are landed; and farther declaring that if any Carman, Porter, Waterman, or other Person so offending, being apprehended by the Warrant of any Justice of the Town, City, or Borough, where the Fact is committed, (the same being proved by Evidence of two Witnesses on Oath) shall be sent to Gaol, until He or They

They find Security for their good Behaviour, &c. and if They offend a second Time, to be committed to Prison for two Months, and to forfeit 5 l. to the Use of his Maj:ty. — Is This any Parallel to the Method of fining the Trader, in a summary Way, at the Discretion of the Commissioners?

I never said that the *Custom-house Laws* were unexceptionable, or in no respect hard upon *Trade*. I have often acknowledged the contrary; though much less severe than the *Laws of Excise*; but if there are some few Instances, where the former come up, in any Degree, to the Severity of the latter, it can be of no Weight against our general Argument, but only proves how strictly the poor *Trader* is tether'd down both by one and the other.

If *this Project* is so much for the Interest of *Commerce* (as the *Letter-Writer* informs us) *that nobody could reasonably wish for, nor human Wisdom form a Scheme, more for the Ease and Advantage of the fair Trader*; why is it not made publick, for the Satisfaction of the *Merchants*, and to ease Them of those dreadful Apprehensions, which They conceive from it at present? For it is manifestly their Opinion *that any new Excises, or any farther Extension of Excise Laws, under any Name or Pretence whatsoever, will be not only prejudicial to the Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, but dangerous to the Liberties of the whole Kingdom.*

The Preamble to the *Ordinance of Parliament*, for continuing the *Excise*, during our *civil Wars*, is as little to the Purpose as any of his other Arguments; for though I am ready to admit that there were as many *glorious Assertors of Liberty in that Parliament*, as perhaps ever met in a popular Assembly; yet it is evident that nothing but the *utmost Necessity* could have induced Them to take *such a Method of raising Money*. This, I think, appears very plain from the *Remonstrance of Parliament* in the Year 1626; which not only

only condemns the *King's Commission* as illegal, because without the *Consent of the People*, but shews their Dislike to the *Method of Taxation* itself. It is likewise evident from the Disturbances in *London*, as I observed before, that an *Excise* was extremely disgusting to the People; though raised for the Support of a Cause, to which They were generally inclined; and even the *Parliament* itself seem'd, at least tacitly, to condemn *such Taxes*, by discontinuing them, as soon as the War was over. *Necessity* therefore having driven Them into *this Method*, it is not at all wonderful that They should endeavour to gloss it over with plausible Colours, in the Preamble to their *Ordinance*, establish'd for that Purpose.

I have now consider'd all the material Objections, which the *Letter-Writer* hath made to our *general Argument against Excises*; for his succeeding Papers contain nothing else but Repetitions of the same Things, or little Cavils, of so trifling a Nature, that I shall be very short in my Remarks upon them.

He tells us, * *that a very illustrious Writer, of the last Age, hath observed that a Tax ought never to be thought a Burthen upon any Body but the Consumer; for the Trader reaps a Benefit by it.*—Whoever this *illustrious Gentleman* might be, I dare say He did not recommend the Collection of Taxes by *Excise Laws*; which is the Point in Dispute; but if He did, it is plain that He had as little Regard for *Liberty*, as Knowledge of *Trade*, which depends upon it.

He is pleas'd to imagine, *that if an Attempt should be made, the next Session of Parliament, to convert some Part of our Customs into Excises, there would be few CONSIDERABLE MERCHANTS, or DEALERS, that would think it for their Advantage, to oppose it.*—And, in † another Paper, He tells us, *that He is inform'd*

* *Courant, Dec. 9th.*

† *Courant, Dec. 23d.*
166

the MOST CONSIDERABLE TRADERS in England *would be glad that* such a Scheme *would take Effect*. — I wish the Gentleman had acquainted us from *whom* He received this Information; or where *this most considerable Body lyes incog*; for hitherto They have not thought fit to reveal Themselves. The principal Merchants and Traders in *Wine, Tobacco and Sugar*, as well as in *several Commodities* already excised, not only in *London and Southwark*, but likewise in several distant Parts of the Kingdom, have already declared against *this Scheme*, in the most publick Manner; and it is expected that others will soon follow their Example. It is therefore high Time for the *Letter-Writer* to produce his Party; and I wish that their *most considerable Traffick* may not be found to consist in *Stocks, Pensions and Places*.

My Extracts from the Writings of Dr. *D'Avenant*, on this Subject, are intirely mistaken by the *Letter-Writer*, as well as the End, for which I quoted them; since, even in the earliest Times, there was certainly a great *Consumption of Commodities*, in this Kingdom, though but *little Trade*; and yet our Ancestors would never come into *this Method of raising Money*. Besides, I acknowledged that Dr. *D'Avenant* made no Distinction between *Customs and Excises*, but confounded Them together, under the general Name of *Loads upon Industry*; and therefore the Gentleman might have spared his Remarks, upon that Head.

It is certain that when *Duties of Customs* were first laid on *Trade*, the Money arising from them was intended for the Protection of the Merchant. This is evident from all our *antient Laws*, for laying Impositions on *Goods imported and exported*; nay, even so lately as in the Reign of King *Charles the 2d*, This appears to be the Sense of Parliament; for in the Preamble to the Act of the 12th of that Reign, it is said *that the Commons reposing a Trust in his Majesty* for guarding the Seas against all Persons, who may en-

deavour to disturb our Trade; &c. They grant the Tonnage and Poundage. — But whether it was prudent in the Letter-Writer to insist upon this Topick, let the Reader judge.

His Arguments from the Practice of *Holland*, as a Pattern for *Great Britain*, are so extremely weak, and have been so fully answer'd already in * *one of my former Papers*, that I shall only add an Observation of *Mr. de Wit*; who says directly, *that the great Duties and Excises on the Trade of Holland have hinder'd the Enlargement of it; and, if not taken Care of in Time, will be the Loss of its Commerce.*

I never design'd to insinuate, as the *Gentleman* is pleas'd to state my Argument, that the Subject ought not to pay either *Customs*, or *Excises*; but that *neither* of Them ought to be stretch'd so high, as to destroy *Trade*, by which only They can be paid, and the Government supported.

He hath likewise taken a great deal of unnecessary Pains to prove that the *Dependence of the Crown on the Subject, for its Support*, is more eligible, in a free Country, than the *Dependence of the Subject on the Crown, for their Properties*. This, I say, was unnecessary; because I admitted it, in my Argument, under the Supposition that We might always rely on a *wise and uncorrupt Parliament*.

But though the *ancient Tenures and Services*, by which our Ancestors held their Estates, gave the Crown an *exorbitant Power*, which is now happily abolish'd; it does not, in the least, affect my Argument, that our *Debts, Taxes and Officers* have given the Crown *another Kind of Power, unknown to our Forefathers*.

The *Letter-Writer* asserts that *We had no Liberty before the Revolution*; which I deny; but supposing it to be true, is That a Reason for our giving it up, at present?

* See the Argument, p. 59.

The People of *England* have, no Doubt, acquired great Advantages by their late glorious Struggles for *Liberty*; which They have purchased at an immense Price of Blood and Treasure; and therefore They ought to be the more cautious of losing it again.

At length, *this Writer* is obliged to * acknowledge, *that although the Consumer bears the Burthen of every Tax, yet his Interest and That of the fair Trader are so closely connected and blended together, that it is almost impossible to separate, or distinguish Them from one another*; but his Method of explaining This is equally extraordinary with his other Reasonings; for though it must be confess'd that the *Practice of Smuggling* is very injurious to the *fair Trader*, as well as to the *Revenue*, by enabling the *clandestine Dealer* to sell the same Goods cheaper, and thereby lessening his Trade; I cannot apprehend it to be a necessary Consequence, *that He must be obliged to enhance the Value of Them, in Proportion as He finds the Demands for Them lessen'd, and that the smaller the Quantity is of any Thing He sells, the greater must be the Price, that He must have for it.*—According to this Doctrine, the *Price of Commodities* must be proportion'd to the *Extent of the Trader's Business*; without any Regard to the *Plenty, or Scarcity*, or to the *Vent and Demand for them*; which is contrary to all the Experience of *Trade*, since the World begun.

On the other Hand, I apprehend that the Practice of *Running Goods* obliges the *fair Trader* to sink his Price, in order to keep some Pace with the *clandestine Dealer*; and therefore immediately affects Him, in the most sensible Manner; though I am ready to allow that the *Consumer* may feel it, at last, in the *Deficiencies of the Revenue*.

For this Reason, I believe the *Merchant, Importer and fair Trader* would willingly concur in any reasonable

* *Courant, Dec. 16th.*

256 A P P E N D I X.

Measures, for putting an End to this *clandestine Traffick*; but if *the cheaper any Commodity is sold, the more of it will be consumed*, They can never agree to an *Excise*, which will certainly make Them *dearer*; and consequently encourage *Smuggling*; for notwithstanding the *Letter-Writer's* poor Fallacy, it is as demonstrable as any Proposition in *Euclid*, that this *mischievous Practice* is chiefly occasion'd by *high Duties*; and whilst They are continued, all the Laws in the World will not be able to prevent it.

The *Gentleman* tells us Himself *that not only Wines and Brandies, but all other Sorts of Merchandize are still run and vendid, in the most publick Manner, on the Sea Coasts*. If therefore *this Method of Collection* has not prevented the Running of *those Commodities*, which are already *excised*; how can We expect that it will put a Stop to the same Practice in *others*?

The desperate Opposition, which the *Custom-house Officers* meet with, in the Execution of their Duty, notwithstanding the severe Penalties on Offenders, may farther convince us of this Truth, and is another Proof that it is absolutely impracticable to prevent *Running*, without lowering the *Duties*; for can *Excisemen* be thought better able to resist such resolute Gangs of Men than the *Officers of Customs*, however large and coercive their Powers may be made? For my Part, I am firmly persuaded by Experience that no Punishments whatever, even *Death* itself, would effectually stop *this Practice*, whilst the Temptation to it continues so great; not even though a *numerous standing Army* should be made Use of to put the Laws in Execution; for though the *Gentleman* himself seems to dislike *such an Expedient*; yet it is well known that our *military Forces* have been often employ'd in that Service, upon the *Sea Coasts*, (as I think some of them are at present) with but little Effect.

It must be admitted that there is a great Inequality between Those, who buy *run Goods*, and Those, who deal

deal with the *fair Trader*, which ought to be prevented, if possible. But still the Question returns, whether an *Excise* will do it. I have given my Reasons why it will not; and I think them sufficiently confirm'd, in the Case of *TEA*; for though *the Revenue, upon this Article, may have been considerably increased, and a less Sum of Money may have been paid into the Exchequer, on Account of Seizures, since those Duties were converted into Excises,* ~~as~~ the *Letter-Writer* asserts; I am far from thinking it the natural Consequence of *that Act*; for it is certain that more *Tea* hath been run since, than at any Time before. This *Improvement of the Revenue* must be therefore owing to some other Causes; such as the great *Increase of the Consumption of Tea*, which is now become almost universal, by the prevailing Spirit of *Luxury*; and, perhaps, partly occasion'd by the late Cheapness of *Sugar*.—But We shall be better able to judge of this Affair by an authentick Account of *Seizures*, which is much more to be credited than *sub a Writer's* Assertion.

But I must inform *this Gentleman* that when I said the *Seizures, formerly made*, bear no Proportion to Those of *late Years*, I did not, by *formerly*, mean a *thousand Years* ago, but since We have had a *Trade*; for though He is pleas'd to be most unmerciful arch, on this Occasion, it is certain that there were *Duties on Trade*, and We had a *large Trade*, for many Years, by which the Nation gain'd immense Riches, without any Complaints of *Smuggling*; but as *Taxes* were multiply'd and increased, the Practice of *Running* hath gain'd Ground, and the national Profit by *Trade* hath been greatly diminish'd.

I hope the *Letter-Writer* is somewhat mistaken in his Calculation, when He says *that the Publick is defrauded of, at least, one third Part of its Revenues*; for if This is the Case, it must be owing to the Frauds of the *Officers* themselves, in joining with the

258 A P P E N D I X.

Smugglers; and I am at a Loss to apprehend how That will be remedied by an *Excise*.

We now come to the *Gentleman's* Concluding Paper, in which He recapitulates the Substance of his preceding Arguments, and makes some farther Observations, which may be thought to deserve a little Notice, before I take my Leave of Him.

He tells us that even the *Land-Tax* itself is collected in the same Manner with *Excises*; and that all Cases, relating to it, are determinable in the same *summary Manner*; whereas I always thought that *this Tax* was levied by *Parish Officers*, and that all Disputes were left to the Decision of the *Commissioners of Taxes*, who are appointed by *Parliament*, not by the *Crown*.

He *purposely avoided offering any Thing*, as He informs us, *in Answer to what I have said concerning the Danger, that such a Scheme would produce, with Regard to national Liberty, by the Increase of Officers, that it must be attended with; because He cannot imagine that I was serious myself, when I made that Objection, but that I did it either out of Amusement, or Pleasantry*.—No really, what I observed, upon that *Head*, was in downright *sober Sadness*. Perhaps, it may proceed, as He wittily remarks, from a *blind Bigotry to Patriotism*; but so it is, that I cannot for my Life put it out of my Head, that *such an infinite Multiplicity of Officers, immediately under the Direction of the Crown, must have some Sort of Influence over Those, who lie at their Mercy*; and therefore the *Gentleman* would have done a generous Act, at least in endeavouring to set such a poor, deluded Wretch as myself a little right in his Judgment, as to *this Point*.

He hath likewise forgot to take any Notice of *another Point*, upon which I laid no small Stress; I mean *that the Execution of this Scheme hath a natural and immediate Tendency to a GENERAL EXCISE*. Perhaps, this

APPENDIX 259

this Apprehension likewise may proceed from the *same Bigotry*, and therefore beneath the *Letter-Writer's* Observation; but as the Publick seems to have paid some Regard to it, I will venture to make one Remark farther, on the *same Subject*.

In my *general Argument*, I gave the Reader a Catalogue of *those Taxes*, which are already collected by the *Laws of Excise*. I shall now explain this Point a little farther, by enumerating, as well as I can recollect at present, the different *Trades and Occupations*, which are affected by *this Method of Collection*.

<i>Brewers, Distillers, Inn-keepers, Victualers, Coffee-men, Vintners, Mum, Cyder and Perry-makers, Malsters, sweet Wine-makers, Vinegar-makers;—</i>	}	And all other Persons, making, importing, or dealing in exciseable Liquors.
--	---	--

<i>Soap-Boilers, Druggists, Grocers, Tallow-Chandlers, Starch-makers, Perfumers, Peruke-makers, Barbers, Chandlers;—</i>	}	And all other Persons concern'd in <i>Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Starch, Powder, &c.</i>
---	---	--

<i>Hop-Planters, Tanners, Owners of Salt-Pits, Leather-Sellers, Linnen-Drapers, Paper-makers, Paper-Stainers, Callicoe and Linnen-Printers, Paste-Board, Mill-Board, and Scale-Board-makers, Gold-Smiths, Silver-Smiths, and Workers of Plate, Wire-Drawers, and Refiners of gilt and Silver Wire, Card-makers, Dice-makers;</i>	}	And several other Persons concern'd in making, or vending these Commodities.
---	---	---

What I would observe from hence is, that *Excises* have already extended themselves into the Shops, Warehouses and Families of a very great Number of the most

most considerable Subjects of *Great Britain*. It may therefore be proper to ask, in this Place, what the *Advocates for Excises* mean, when They tell us that there is no Design of bringing them into *private Families*. Do They exclude all Persons, who keep a *Shop*, or deal in *Goods*, out of this Number? If They do, all the Cities and great trading Towns in *England* consist of little less than *publick Houses*; which I take to be a new Doctrine; and if none but *Taverns, Inns*, and other Houses of *publick Entertainment* ought to pass under that Denomination, according to the Notion of our Forefathers, it follows that *Excises* have already forced themselves into very great Numbers of *private Families*, and must become almost *universal*, by the Execution of such a Scheme.

The *Letter-writer* hath advanced one Argument, at the Conclusion of his Papers, in Favour of *Excises*, which He delivers in Terms of great Tenderness for the People of *England*; viz. that it will prevent those *shameful Adulterations* and *pernicious Mixtures*, with which the *Retailers* too often compound their Commodities, to the Prejudice of the *Revenue*, and the *fair Trader*, as well as the *Health* of his Majesty's Subjects. — This Charge is level'd, I suppose, at the *Vintners*; and I have often heard the same Argument made Use of in private Conversation. Indeed, it is the *only Argument* I could ever yet hear, in Favour of *Excises*, which carries the least Air of Plausibility. But when it is fully examined, it will be found to be without Foundation; for if the *Vintner* will be content to pay the *full Duty for all the Liquor He sells*, I presume the *Crown* will not inspect very nicely into the *Materials*, of which it is compounded; or that the *Vintner* will be prohibited to mix *bad Wine* with *good*; and I believe it will be granted that He may better afford to pay Duty for *Cyder*, or *other Ingredients*, which He can buy very cheap at home, than for *Wine* from
abroad.

abroad. But supposing that *this Scheme* would prevent all *Adulteration*, both at home and abroad ; in such a Case, I think it demonstrable that it must inhanche the *Price* ; and then let me ask, whether it is not reasonable to suppose that it would lessen the *Consumption*, and consequently diminish the *Revenue* ? Nay, should This likewise be deny'd, and it could be proved that an *Excise* would absolutely prevent all *Adulteration*, without inhanching the *Price*, or lessening the *Consumption*, I believe it will be granted, at least, that a much greater *Quantity* must be imported ; which, being sufficiently large already, may happen to turn the Balance of *Trade* against us.——So that take this Affair in what Light you please, I cannot possibly see how an *Excise* upon *Wine* can be of any Advantage to the *Consumer*, the *Revenue*, or the *Nation* in general.

But these Things, perhaps, have no more enter'd into the *Projector's* Head than the Loss, which *such a Scheme* will inevitably bring on the Kingdom, by the Decrease of our *Navigation* ; and it may be safely pronounced that if there is no Method of easing *those Duties*, which principally affect our *Trade* and *Manufactures*, they will never be eased ; for an *Excise* may lessen the present Security for the Payment of the Principal and Interest of our *DEBTS* ; but it will never strengthen, or enlarge it.

I have now done with the *Letter-writer* ; and think it hath been fully proved that He hath not advanced one Argument, in Favour of *this Scheme*, which can be thought to have any Weight, when brought to the Test of Examination. The whole Course of his Reasonings consists in nothing else but *false Quotations*, *little tricking Fallacies*, in *stating my Argument*, and a *constant Evasion of the Point in Debate*.

There is another *Writer*, who hath been pleas'd to favour the Publick with *some Considerations on my late Essays upon this Subject*. By his *Proemium*, in Praise of *Taxes* and *Projectors*, He seems to be some little

Limb

Limb of the Excise; who thinks himself obliged to bear his Share in this *honourable Work*, by Way of *personal Service for the Tenure of his Place*. Indeed, He gives himself the Air of a *Scholar* and a *Wit*, by interlarding his Remarks with a Scrap or two of *Latin* and a *French Verse*; besides some other Flights of *Genius*, to distinguish his Abilities. But for God's Sake, why all this Trouble to prove that an *Exciseman* may be a very *erudite* and *ingenious Person*? I was fully convinced of it t'other Day by a Couple of Lines in an *halfpenny Ballad*, which I bought in the Street. I hope the *worthy Gentleman* will be so good as to accept of them, in Return for the Favour, which He hath done Me.

*Besides, We all know They are mighty well bred;
For every one of Them can both write and read.*

But He will expect, no Doubt, that I should likewise take some Notice of the principal Design of this *excellent Treatise*; That is, to prove that an Excise upon TOBACCO and WINE (which is, at length, acknowledged to be Part of the *present Scheme*) will not only be of great Service to the *Revenue*, and the *Nation* in general, but likewise of infinite Advantage to the particular Traders in *those Commodities*.——What *strange blind Creatures* must They be, not to see their *own Interest*, when it is so plainly pointed out to Them by this *honest Advocate for PROJECTORS and TAXES*?

He hath already received an * Answer to *these Considerations*, as far as they relate to the TOBACCO TRADE; which seems to be written by a *Gentleman*, very well acquainted with *that Branch of our Commerce*. It would therefore be needless for me to add any Thing to it; but I must beg Leave to quote one Passage out
of

* *An Answer to the Considerations, occasion'd by the Craftsman upon Excises, so far as it relates to the Tobacco Trade.*

of it, which will serve to illustrate and strengthen my general Argument against *Excises*.

The *Gentleman* observes very well, “ that Part of the Duty now payable on *Tobacco*, call’d the *Impost*, (which is 3*d. per lib.*) was first laid on that *Commodity* in the first Year of the Reign of King *James the 2^d*, by an Act, intitled an Act for granting to his Majesty an Imposition on *TOBACCO and SUGAR*; and was to be levy’d on the *Consumer*, or first *Buyer*, and put under *Commissioners*, appointed for that Purpose, distinct from the *Commissioners of Customs*; but This being found burthenfome to the *Trader*, and also a Loss to the *Revenue*, the *Ministry*, touch’d with the Hardships the *Merchant* lay under, and also the Detriment to the *Revenue*, moved the *Parliament*; and accordingly, by an Act of the 7th and 8th of *William the 3^d*, it was enacted, that the said Duty, granted by the said Act in the first Year of the Reign of the late King *James*, and which, by the said Act, is made payable by the first *Buyer*, and subject to the *RULES OF EXCISE*, in the several Parts of the Management thereof, should, for the future, be under the Management of the *COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS*.—This Method of raising Duties on *Tobacco*, by an *Excise*, was, by the Experience of ten Years, found to answer no good End. It harraisd the *Merchant*, and lessen’d the *Revenue*. The same Cause will ever produce the same Effect. Therefore, it is hoped that, upon the Knowledge of an *Excise* having once fail’d, it will not be attempted a second Time.

I think, indeed, that the *Gentleman* hath done our *Considerer* too much Honour, in taking so much Notice of this Paper; and He tells us himself, that He should not have done it, were there not some Things in it, which may happen to mislead those Persons, who are not acquainted with that Branch of our Commerce.

Perhaps, somebody may think fit to do the *Gentlemen* of the *Wine-Trade* the same Justice. I shall therefore

264 A P P E N D I X.

fore content myself with those Remarks, which I have already made on *that Subject*, and leave the farther Explanation of it to Those, who are better acquainted with the Particulars.

The *Considerer* is pleased to let us know that He is a *Bottle Companion*, by expressing the great Joy of his Heart, *that when this Law takes Place, one may spend an Evening agreeably, and be the better for it the next Day*. I must likewise be so candid as to own that I love a Glass of *good Wine* myself; but I think it a little unreasonable to desire that so large a Number of my Countrymen should be *chain'd down* and *band-cuff'd*, purely to prevent now and then a little Touch of the *Head-ach*. An *Excise* would take away the Flavour of the best Wine in *Christendom*; for I hope every *good Englishman* loves his *Liberty*, even better than his *Bottle*. If the *Vintners*, therefore, won't serve us with *good Wine*, let us leave their Houses and content ourselves with those wholesome and agreeable Liquors, with which our *own Commodities* will supply us in great Variety and Abundance. But if the politer Part of the Nation cannot wean themselves from a long Habit of drinking *foreign Wines*, there are still *some good* of all Sorts to be had; and no Point in the World can be clearer to me, than that an *Excise* may make them *dearer*, but cannot possibly make them *better*.—However, I must do the *Considerer* the Justice to acknowledge that *this Argument* is very well calculated to catch a numerous Body of our Countrymen, who are commonly distinguish'd by the Name of *TO PERS*.

I am ready to agree with *this Gentleman*, that *FAVOUR* is *OPPRESSION* to all *Traders* but Those, to whom it is *shown*; and therefore I am against an *Excise*; because it gives the *Commissioners* such a Power of *favoursing*, or *oppressing* the Subject, as They think fit, either by absolutely *remitting the Penalties of the Law*, or *exacting them with the utmost Rigour*.

He is a little unhappy in repeating the Argument of his Fellow-Labourer in the *Courant*; *that the Craft-*
man

man hath not produced any one Instance of Injustice, in the Judgments given by the Commissioners of the Excise; which I apprehend to be sufficiently answer'd in the former Part of these Papers. He adds, *that there hath been so little Reason to complain of Them, that He hath been inform'd there have not been three Appeals brought, since the Appointment of that Commission.*— I am very far from questioning the Truth of his Information, in this Particular, or being surprized at it; for when I consider the Nature of *that Commission*, I am rather inclined to wonder that there ever was so much as *one Appeal*.

He is pleas'd to assert that my *Quotations from Mr. Hampden and Mr. Locke are no Way applicable to the Point in Debate*; and that they relate only to *Taxes, or Excises on our native Commodities.*—O! fye, Sir! if you talk at this Rate, the World will begin to suspect either your *Learning*, or your *Cause*; for the profess'd Design of *both these Writers* was to recommend a *Land-Tax*, in Preference to any Duties on *Commodities, whether imported, or of our own Production.* Mr. Locke, indeed, does not make any Distinction between *Excises and other Taxes*; nor did I quote Him for that Purpose; but Mr. Hampden expressly condemns *all Excises*, and enforces his Argument with such Reasons, as I think unanswerable.—Prethee, look over the Writings of *these Gentlemen* once more; and if you can find any Thing in them, that will be of Service to the *present Scheme*, you are welcome to produce it with all my Heart.

I am sorry to find that I stand so ill in the Opinion of this *excellent Writer*; who sets me forth as a *pievish, little, wrangling Fellow*; but I consider his Case; He may, perhaps, think the EXCISE-OFFICE in *Danger*; and therefore I heartily forgive Him. I am sure the Reader will bear me Witness that I have preserv'd my Temper perfectly even towards Him, and treated Him with great Civility, notwithstanding the disagreeable Character He hath given Me. Nay, I should not have

taken even this cursory Notice of his *ingenious Considerations*, if They had not happen'd to fall directly in my Way; for however He may please to represent me as a Person, who make the *first Gains* in every Dispute, I can assure Him, upon the Word of an *Author*, that I never expect to get *so much* as one Craftsman out of any of his Works.

But it is now Time to draw towards a Conclusion; and, in order to it, let us reflect a little on the *present State of Affairs*. The *Ministers* have, at length, triumph'd most gloriously in their Negotiations; and I wish that their *late Treaties* may be built on as solid a Foundation as They have assured us Themselves. We are, at present, in Peace with all our Neighbours; and there are no Appearances of any immediate Rupture in any Part of *Europe*. We have no Faction at home, considerable enough to disturb the Quiet of the Government, or to endanger the present Establishment, in his Majesty's Family. Our only Uneasinesses, Animosities and Dissentions proceed from some *particular Grievances*, which might be easily remedied. But this serene Sky may be soon overclouded again. New Disturbances may break out in *Europe*, and involve us once more in the Quarrels of the Continent. Let us therefore husband this favourable Opportunity, by reducing our Expences, whilst the present Tranquillity lasts, and giving the People some Relief from those *various Burthens, which publick Misfortunes, and publick Necessity have so long obliged Them to bear*.

We have, indeed, lately seen a most extraordinary Doctrine advanced; *that while the Affairs of Europe were unsettled, and Danger was threaten'd from every Quarter, and on every Hand, there was no Temptation for any Power to embroil Themselves in new Difficulties; but now there is Leisure for Ambition to look round*.

This Doctrine was deliver'd by Mr. *Walsingham*, about a Fortnight ago, from the Mouth of an *honourable*

ble Person, whom He styles in Capitals the *Ch—r* of the *Ex—r*; but it is so monstrous and absurd a Proposition, that I cannot believe any *Gentleman*, of *common Sense* and *Discretion*, could be weak enough to utter it; for, according to this Principle, *Peace* itself is a Curse, instead of a Blessing; and the more firmly it is establish'd, the more Occasion there will be for a *standing Army*; whereas We were always told before, that it was desired only *till Affairs could be settled, and the Tranquility of Europe restored*. But, at this Rate, when can We expect any *Reduction of the Army*? If We presume to touch upon that Topick whilst *Affairs are in the least embroil'd*, We are immediately charged with a Design of encouraging *some foreign Power* to invade us; and when they are *settled*, We are told that there is more Reason to be upon our Guard than before.—I am really ashamed of exposing so palpable an Absurdity, and shall leave *Mr. Walsingham* to the Correction of the *honourable Gentleman* himself, for putting *such Stuff* in his Mouth.—Let us therefore return to our present Subject.

If any Writers shall think fit to bestow any Remarks on *these Papers*; I must once more request Them to enter into the Merits of the Cause, by giving a direct Answer to our principal Objections against the *Laws of Excise*, with Regard to the *Method of Tryal*, in those Cases; the Interest of *Trade*; and the Danger to *national Liberty*.

We insist upon *all these Points*, in Opposition to *this Method of collecting the publick Revenues*; and the *Projector*, whoever He is, must not imagine that some little Variations in his *Scheme* will allay the present Heats of the People. Their Objections are general against *any such Project*, and nothing but totally receding from it will give Them Satisfaction.

It will not be improper, nor I believe disagreeable, to illustrate this Point by a parallel Instance, of modern Date, in our own History.

When the famous *Bill of Exclusion* was under Debate in the *House of Commons*, an *Expedient* was offer'd by the *Court-Party* to prevent the Danger from a *Popish Successor*, by certain Limitations, in order to defeat the *Bill*; upon which Col. *Titus* observed, that to accept of *Expedients*, to secure the Protestant Religion, after such a King had mounted the Throne, would be as strange as if there were a LYON in the Lobby, and We should make a Vote to secure ourselves, by LETTING HIM INTO THE HOUSE and CHAINING HIM, rather than by KEEPING HIM OUT. — A *Popish Prince* cannot be more destructive to our religious Rights than an *Excise* will be to our civil Liberties; and there is little Difference between an *Inquisition* and a general *Excise-Office*, but as one regards our Faith, and the other our Estates.

We saw this horrible Monster advancing towards us; and have spared no Pains to keep Him out of the Lobby, as well as the House; but if He should have the Confidence to thrust in his Head there; We rely upon the Virtue of our Representatives in Parliament, that They will concur with their Principals, and unite their Endeavours to kick Him out again.

To speak without a Metaphor, it is to be hoped that the *House of Commons* will reject any Proposal for loading us with new *Excises*; and if the *Projector* should persist in his Scheme, He must expect to have it call'd by his own Name (according to the old Roman Custom) and deliver'd down, as a Brand of Infamy on his Memory, to all succeeding Generations.

I shall therefore conclude with a Passage in Scripture; which I recommend to his serious Consideration. — *It must needs be, that Offences come; but Woe to THAT MAN, by whom the Offence cometh. — It were better for Him that a Millstone were hang'd about his Neck; and that He were drown'd in the Depth of the Sea.*

D.

APPEN.



A P P E N D I X.

N U M B. I.

EXTRACTS *from a Pamphlet Intituled,*
Remarks on the horrible Oppressions,
Insolencies, and unjustifiable Partialities
of the COMMISSIONERS OF EX-
CISE, &c.



HE Author having charged *these Gentle-*
men, in several Parts of his Treatise, with
Tyranny, Barbarity, and Extortion, con-
cludes it with several particular Examples,
which he introduces in the following
Manner.

“ And that *this Charge* may not be counted too
“ heavy, and this Book be branded with the same In-
“ justice it is wrote to expose, I shall a little descend to
“ Particulars, and give you a few, out of the infinite
“ Crowd of *prodigious Excesses* They have been guilty
“ of.

“ ’Tis true, that the *Laws of Excise* are very severe ;
“ and, without Doubt, ’tis necessary that when *Taxes*
“ are charged on the Subject, Methods ought to be taken
“ to secure the Payment to the Government ; and This
“ is both just to the Government, and to one another,
“ that the *Equality of Taxes* may be regulated ; since
“ what is deficient in *one*, is always made good upon
“ the *whole Nation*.

270 A P P E N D I X. N^o I.

“ But this *Severity of the Laws* does no where require
 “ cruel and rigorous *Exactions* ; barbarous, destructive
 “ and furious falling upon Men and Families ; of which
 “ the following is an Instance, all good Men must read
 “ with Abhorrence.

“ About the Year there was an honest and very
 “ industrious Man, a Distiller, by Name *Richard Stan-*
 “ *ley*, a Quaker, who lived in *Wapping*, and carried on
 “ his Trade with a tolerable Prospect ; but having se-
 “ veral Losses, and a large Family, did not make so
 “ current Payment as the *Commissioners* required, being
 “ in Arrears 146 *l.* 12 *s.*

“ *This Man* had order'd some *new Backs* to be made,
 “ and set up in his Workhouse, and they were then
 “ finishing, but not quite done ; the *Backmaker* having,
 “ at least, a Week's Work to do on them, to make them
 “ fit for Use,

“ The *Distiller* thought it was soon enough to enter
 “ *these Backs* at the *Office*, when they should be finish'd
 “ and fit for Use ; and in the mean Time, they were so
 “ far from being offer'd to be conceal'd, that the *Work-*
 “ men were publickly at work on them, and the
 “ *Officers* every Day saw them in the House.

“ Notwithstanding this, the *Officer*
 “ by Name, staying as long, till he thought the
 “ Pretence would bear, informs against *this Man*, for
 “ erecting these *new Backs*, without entring them ; and
 “ the *Commissioners*, according to their usual Justice,
 “ concurring with the *Officer*, condemn the *poor Man*
 “ to pay 80 *l.* for this pretended Fraud.

“ This, added to his *former Debt*, made it 226 *l.*
 “ 12 *s.* which the *poor Man* being unable to pay so
 “ soon as They required it, They sa l upon him with
 “ most unsufferable and unparallel'd Fury.

“ His *Still-House*, which cost him above 500 *l.* to
 “ erect, They pull'd all to pieces ; tore up his *Stills*
 “ and *Backs*, and appraising them after their own

“ Manner,

N^o I. APPENDIX. 271

“ Manner, and at their absolute Pleasure, sold them
 “ most unreasonably below the real Value.

“ They sold *three Stills*, with *Worms* and *Tubs*, for
 “ 120 *l.* and the *poor Man* makes it appear, that *one of*
 “ *those Stills*, by the Weight of the Copper, came to
 “ 102 *l.* and cost him so much at *second Hand* but a
 “ few Months before.

“ The *Backs*, and all the *wooden Work*, which cost
 “ him above 150 *l.* and which was all in good Con-
 “ dition, fit for the Trade, They sold for 3 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.*
 “ or thereabouts.

“ They sold as much *Spirits* for 7 *l.* as They them-
 “ selves had charged the *poor Man* with 18 *l.* Duty to
 “ the King.

“ And thus the *poor Man* and his Family were en-
 “ tirely ruin'd and turn'd out of Doors; and notwith-
 “ standing all this Havock, and the Destruction They
 “ made of his Goods, They sold them for 6 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.*
 “ more than They demanded; which yet They never
 “ would return to the *poor Man* to this Day; though
 “ he has earnestly solicited for it, and is reduced so low,
 “ that he has often wanted such a small Sum for Bread
 “ for his Family, and now works in a *Still-House*, for
 “ weekly Wages to subsist his Children; of whom, if
 “ Enquiry be made, I doubt not but the Reader may be
 “ inform'd that I have related the Story rather in the
 “ *Commissioners* Favour than otherwise; being resolv'd
 “ to do Them Justice, even in the worst Accounts I
 “ shall give of their Behaviour.

“ The Story of ruining Mr. *Walker* and his Family,
 “ is still worse than This; of which They may hear
 “ hereafter.



To make good the Charge against Them, in the Beginning of this Tract, of denying Justice to the Distillers, when They complain of the Injury of their Officers, take the following Account.

“ **A** Certain Distiller, whose Name the Commissioners cannot be ignorant of, when They read the Particulars, had a false Charge made upon him ; by which the Reader may please to understand, that he was charged by the Duty, for more *Wash* than he had in his Vessels ; but the Officer ; being peremptory in his Charge, the Distiller complained to the Commissioners, as the Law in that Case directs.

“ When the Case came before the Commissioners, contrary to all Courts of Justice in the World, which generally hear the Complainant first, and then the Defendant ; They, to be particular as well as partial, taking the Case from the first Complaint of the Distiller, call up the Officer, and order him to give an Account of the Fact. Having heard *him only*, They immediately gave their Judgment against the Distiller, without so much as admitting him to reply, or hearing his Evidence ; and refused to swear a *Servant* he brought with him to prove the Fact.

“ With what Face Men can thus pervert the known and fundamental Articles of *distributive Justice*, I cannot imagine ; and if They expect never to give Account for these Actions, They must certainly live in Hopes that, some Time or other, *Parliamentary Authority* shall be suppress'd, and *that Power* die, which has always been a Terror to the Exorbitances and Exactions of *insolent Tax Gatherers*.

“ It is farther remarkable in this Story, that the Distiller boldly telling Them, *He would seek for Justice against these Partialities* ; one of the Commissioners, and the great Manager of these injurious Proceedings,

“ *v.z.*

N^o I. APPENDIX. 273

“ viz. Mr. T ———, turning to the Solicitor, ask’d;
 “ if the Distiller had paid the Money for this false
 “ Charge? To which he was answer’d, Yes. Well,
 “ well, says the Commissioner, if we have but the
 “ Money, let him seek for Justice where he can, and see
 “ how he will get it again.

*To prove what is suggested of the Commissioners con-
 viving at, and encouraging their Officers in the Op-
 pressions of the Subject, and rewarding Them by the
 Penalties They raise; take the following short Story,
 which will be publicly attested by undoubted Evidence.*

“ **A**N Information was order’d to be brought by an
 “ Officer, against a noted Distiller in Town, on
 “ Pretence of such Breaches on the Laws of Excise;
 “ the Penalties of which would have risen to a very
 “ great Sum.

“ This Distiller brought such plain Evidence of the
 “ Fact, and so well managed his Defence, that, in
 “ Spight of their very good Will to ruin him; Things
 “ were so very plain, and the Information so weakly
 “ supported, They were forced to acquit him.

“ After the Disappointment, and, as we suppose, to
 “ comfort the Officer for the Loss, a certain Commis-
 “ sioner was heard to tell him, *He was sorry he could*
 “ *not serve him now; but another Time he would make*
 “ *him amends*; or Words to that Effect.

“ What can the Meaning of such an Expression be,
 “ but to encourage their Officers in their false Accusa-
 “ tions, and supporting the Oppressions They daily ex-
 “ ercise upon the Distillers?



To prove their putting off Hearings, and tiring People with the Charge and Trouble of Attendance, among a Multitude of such Cases, Mr. Bowden's is very remarkable.

“ **M**R. Bowden had an *Information* laid against him ; which it is supposed could not be very clearly made out, and appearing to take his *Trial*, with his *Witnesses* and *Council*, whom he had fee'd to attend ; without any *Reason* given, or any *Day assign'd* for his farther Attendance, the *Hearing* was put off.

“ Some Time after This, when Mr. Bowden was occasionally at the *Office*, upon other Business, and without the least Notice of any such Thing, They order'd him to be call'd in, and told him, *They would then bear it*. It was a long Time, and with great Difficulty, that he prevail'd upon Them to put it off ; alledging, *that he was unprovided of his Evidence, Papers, and Council, for his Defence*.

“ After This, it was delay'd again for *several Times* ; and at last, being inform'd that his *Servant*, who was his *Evidence*, was gone from him, and lived as far as *Bristol*, They summon'd him to a *Trial* peremptorily by a *short Day* ; so that it was impossible for him to fetch up his *Evidence*, and by this Advantage cast him.

For Shams and trifling Pretences against Tradesmen, and for which They have been arbitrarily fined ; take the following, out of many more ready to be produced at Demand.

“ **M**R. Feast*, the Brewer, at the *Peacock* in *White-Cross-street*, a Man of an unquestion'd Reputation, and every way superior to the *best of*

* Afterwards Sir *Felix Feast*,

“ *these*

“ *these Commissioners*, both in *Character* and *Estate*,
 “ being allow’d, by all, that have Judgment in the
 “ Thing, to be the greatest Brewer in *England*, and I
 “ suppose in the World, and who I believe (speaking
 “ by guess) has in his time paid 200,000 *l. Excise* to
 “ *the Crown*; some say much more.

“ *This Gentleman* keeping an *Engine* or two always
 “ in his Yard, to be ready, in Case any Accident of
 “ Fire should happen, had order’d his Men (as it is
 “ very necessary to do, and as They used to do about
 “ once a Month) to try the *Engine*, that They might
 “ be satisfied it was in order.

“ Upon This, the Mob coming into the Yard to
 “ see it play, it happen’d that, among the Crowd,
 “ the *Exciseman* was coming to his Business. This
 “ the Servants could not, and offer’d to make Affidavit
 “ They did not see. In playing the *Engine*, the
 “ Servant, turning the Spout among the Crowd, as in
 “ sport is frequently done, he chanced to wash His
 “ Honour, the *Exciseman*, who appear’d exceed-
 “ ingly affronted at the Indignity offer’d to his
 “ Quality; and tho’ the Servants ask’d his Pardon,
 “ and profess’d They did not see him, (and the Master
 “ not present) yet he could not be appeased; but
 “ goes the next Day to the *Office*; makes his Com-
 “ plaint to the *Commissioners*, and brings an *Informa-*
 “ *tion* against Mr. *Fest*, for his Servant’s obstructing
 “ him in the Execution of his Office; the Penalty
 “ for which, by Act of Parliament, is 20 *l.*

“ This came to Trial before the *Commissioners*;
 “ who, notwithstanding the Circumstances were
 “ proved as above, gave Judgment against Mr. *Fest*
 “ for 20 *l.* and upon his *Appeal*, the *Commissioners* of
 “ *Appeal* confirm’d it; and he paid 20 *l.* for wetting
 “ *the sacred Coat* of a beggarly *Rajal*; that had he
 “ design’d nothing but his *Business*, might have gone
 “ two or three other ways into the *Brewhouse*, and
 “ not have come within reach of the *Engine*.

“ One

“ One Mr. *Henry Hall*, a *Cyder-maker*, had a *Ware-house* at some distance from his *Dwelling-House* ;
 “ and having some Business at his *Warehouse*, he
 “ found the *Exciseman* knocking at the Door ; but
 “ his Servant, whose Business was in the said *Ware-*
 “ *house*, was gone out, and the Door lock'd.

“ The *Exciseman* demanded Entrance, and Mr. *Hall*
 “ desiring him to stay till he could find the Man, who
 “ he thought had been at the *Warehouse*, the *Excise-*
 “ *man* seem'd uneasy ; at which Mr. *Hall* order'd
 “ another of his Servants, who came with him,
 “ immediately to break open the Door, that the
 “ *Exciseman* should have no Pretence upon him ;
 “ which the *Exciseman* perceiving, and that if the
 “ Door was open'd, He should lose the Opportunity
 “ of *informing*, immediately goes away and would not
 “ stay to see the Door open'd, but lays an *In-*
 “ *formation* for 15 *l.* for being deny'd Entrance ; on
 “ which *Information* the *Commissioners* gave Judg-
 “ ment ; and the *Court of Appeals*, to whom Mr. *Hall*
 “ had Recourse, confirm'd the said Judgment.

“ Another Prank like This was play'd by an *Excise-*
 “ *man* with Mr. *Fendril*, a *Distiller* in *Holbourn*.
 “ The *Exciseman*, in the Dead of the Night, when
 “ Mr. *Fendril* was in *Bed and asleep* (taking a Con-
 “ stable from the Watch) comes to his Door, and not
 “ offering to awake Mr. *Fendril*, or any of his Family,
 “ demanded Entrance ; which Mr. *Fendril* (as I know
 “ not how he should, being *asleep*) took no Notice of.
 “ At the same Time, the *Officer* pretended the
 “ *Chimney smoak'd*, and call'd the Watchman to take
 “ Notice of it, which he did ; but declared He could
 “ not perceive it to *smoke*.

“ Notwithstanding This, away goes He ; lays an
 “ *Information* against Mr. *Fendril* ; and upon the Trial
 “ the *Officer* swore that the *Chimney did smoke* ; the
 “ *Constable* swore it *did not* ; no Proof was made that
 “ Mr. *Fendril*, or his Servants, were at *Work* ; as,
 “ indeed,

“ indeed, They were not; but *all in Bed*; yet the
 “ *Commissioners* gave Judgment against Him for 15 *l.*
 “ alledging, by their Solicitor, *that They ought to keep*
 “ *a Servant always sitting up, to let in the Exciseman,*
 “ *whenever he thought fit to come.*

“ It would be a History too long for any Man’s
 “ Reading to set down all the *barbarous Treatment* the
 “ Queen’s Subjects daily meet with from *these Gentle-*
 “ *men Excisemen*; their arbitrary Judgments; *clandes-*
 “ *tine, and most villainous Methods of surprizing the*
 “ *Innocent*; and their *partial and positive determining*
 “ *Things against Law, Reason, and apparent Testi-*
 “ *mony of Fact.*

*How They have determined the same Fact as criminal
 in one, and acquitted it in another, is plain from the
 following Instance.*

“ **J**OHAN VANDEN BENDEN, *Sweet-*
 “ *maker, at Dowgate, had a private Copper, for*
 “ *making of Sweets; which He was inform’d*
 “ *against for making Use of, without entring at the*
 “ *Excise-Office; and coming to a Trial, He was ac-*
 “ *quitted; not that it was not made Use of, but as*
 “ *not being within the Act.*

“ **R**OWLAND FRYE, *Sweet-maker, in Mora-*
 “ *gan’s Lane, Southwark, much about the same Time,*
 “ *and for the very same individual Kind of Fact, was*
 “ *try’d on an Information, for making Use of a private*
 “ *Copper, for making Sweets, and the Commissioners*
 “ *gave Judgment against Him for 50 *l.**

*If any Man should enquire into the Reasons of these
 Partialities, They must find them in the Excise Office.
 No Man else can resolve them.*

N U M B. II.

A Certificate, sign'd by the principal Druggists in Town, in Answer to a Paragraph in the Daily Courant of Saturday Dec. 2, 1732.

WHEREAS the principal Druggists in Town are charged in a Paragraph in the *Daily Courant* of Saturday, December 2, 1732, with being the Promoters of an *Act* passed in the tenth Year of the late King, for repealing certain Duties upon Coffee, Tea, and Cocoa, and for granting certain Inland Duties in lieu thereof, &c. (by which *Act* Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate are subjected to the Laws of Excise) by advising the Clauses in it, which relate to Entries of all Places, where such Commodities are made or kept, and to the Power it gives the Officer to enter into such Places, and to inspect and take an Account of such Commodities, and insinuating that They did advise the passing the said *Act*.—The Druggists do hereby positively deny, and disavow such Charge as a notorious Falshood.

The *Bill* pointed out too plainly the Rigour and Hardships, with which the Execution of *such a Law* would be attended (and which They have since too severely felt) for *Them* to be presumed the Advisers of it. They were desirous to preserve *their Houses to themselves*, and not have them liable to be enter'd into at the Will and Pleasure of every *unknown petty Officer*; and to have the Disposal of their *own Goods*, after the Duties were paid, without the Permission of, or accounting for them to any Person whatsoever; and to preserve the Circumstances of their Trade, their Customers Names and Places of Abode, from being exposed

exposed to the *Officers of Excise*, and to such other Persons, to whom They might think fit to communicate the same; and also, in case of any Dispute, to have the Matter determined, according to the antient Privilege of *Englishmen*, by a *Jury of twelve good Men*, who are sworn to do Justice indifferently, and not by the summary Decision of *Commissioners*, removeable at Pleasure.

For these Reasons, the *Druggists* strenuously opposed the *Bill*. They petition'd the Parliament against it; and when their Petition had the hard Fate to be rejected, They propos'd several Expedients to make the Law easier to Them; which were undertaken and promised by the *worthy Gentleman*, who alone hath the Honour of being thought the *Projector and Adviser of it*, and who only hath found his Account in it.





T H E
B U D G E T Open'd.
O R, A N
A N S W E R
T O A

P A M P H L E T intitled,
A LETTER from a MEMBER OF PAR-
LIAMENT to his Friends in the Country, concerning
the Duties on WINE and TOBACCO.

— *Jam Solis habæne* —
Bis senas torquent Hyemes, cervicibus ex quo
Hæret triste Jugum, nostris jam luctibus Ille
Consenuit, Regnumque sibi tot vindicat annis.

CLAUDIAN.



T length, the Mountain is deliver'd.
The *grand Mystery*, which was long
deem'd too sacred for the unhallow'd
Eyes of the People, is reveal'd. What
is reveal'd? — Nothing, but what has
been known, confuted and exploded
long before it was publicly acknowledged; for it now
appears, by the Pamphlet under our Consideration, to
be

APPENDIX. 281

be the very *same Project*, destructive of *Commerce* and dangerous to *Liberty*, which it was at first apprehended to be, notwithstanding the shameless Endeavours of *hiring Writers* to persuade the People, that it was only the chimerical Offspring of *disaffected* and *seditious Brains*.

There are so many distinguishing Marks of a *great Hand* in this Letter, that the *Author* had no Occasion, to prefix his *Name* to it. The *Projector* himself appears in every Page; the same *great Genius*, who patronized the Scheme of Excise on *Coffee, Tea* and *Chocolate*; who was so gloriously instrumental in procuring the memorable Addition of 115,000 *l.* to the CIVIL LIST, by way of *Arrear*; who brought about the Revival and Continuance of the *SALT DUTY*, for *three Years*, to supply the current Expences of the Government, for *one Year*; and hath effectually secured our Liberties by a *STANDING ARMY*, or a *Land Force* of 18000 *Soldiers*, in Times of Peace.

I shall therefore take the Liberty, in the following Pages, to address myself to *Him*, under this Mask of a *Letter-writer* and a *Member of Parliament*.

You are pleased, *Sir*, to dignify the Title-Page of your Letter with a trite old Latin Maxim, *Magna est VERITAS & prævalebit*; but You are so unfortunate in swelling the Bulk of your Performance with *false Facts* and *fallacious Arguments*, that I think your Motto would run much better thus; *Magna est VENALITAS & prævalebit*.

You begin with acquainting your Friends in the Country, that You were *surprized* and *concern'd* at the Receipt of their Letter; and You are pleased to be very circumstantial in giving Them your Reasons for *both*.

Your *Surprize*, it seems, arose from the Alteration of their Sentiments, since You conversed with Them last in the Country. You say, that *the converting the Duties on Tobacco and Wine from Customs into an EXCISE was Part of the Subject of your Discourse*, at that

that Time. I am afraid, *Sir*, your Memory fails you a little, and that the Relation of this Conference with your *Electors* is not minutely exact; for, if we may judge by your Conduct since, that odious Word *Excise* could never escape your cautious Lips. It is probable enough that You might inveigh against *Frauds in the Revenue*, and that your *Friends* might agree with You, as every reasonable Man will, that they ought to be prevented. But give me Leave, *Sir*, to ask you one Question. Did You, upon your Honour, let Them into the Secret, that You intended to saddle Them with an *Army of Excise Officers*, on this Account, and try Them by a *Jury of Commissioners*? — If You had been so communicative, at that Time, I dare say it would, in some Measure, have prevented your *present Surprise*.

So much for your *Surprise*. But your *Concern arose from another Point, which touch'd You nearly*. You seem to be terribly nettled, that your *Electors* have taken the Liberty of desiring You, as their *Representative*, to consult their Interest; and that You are not permitted to act *unbias'd*, as You call it; That is, in plain *English*, this *instructing Martingal* sits a little uneasy on your Neck. You would willingly have your Head at full Liberty, to run without Controul, as your Passions, or private Interest, might direct You. Nay, You go farther and tell Them, that you cannot receive their Letter as a *Command*; nor act according to it, should your *Reason and Conscience* be on the other Side of the Question. In order to maintain this Doctrine, You are obliged to give Yourself a very pretty Character, and applaud your own Conduct, *whilst You have had the Honour to serve Them in Parliament*. At the same Time, You are under an unhappy Necessity of traducing Those, whom You represent, as a *Parcel of Fools or Madmen*, who are *instructed to instruct*; because They happen to concur in Opinion with the Merchants of *London* and all the great trading Towns in *England*.

England This is so far from being an Argument to your Purpose, that it is an evident Proof of the Wisdom and Reasonableness of their Conduct. But the Meaning of this notable Expostulation with your *Electors* is very plain. Can you fancy any Body so weak as to think it intended for their Use, or Satisfaction? No, Sir, it is evidently design'd as a Cue to the Representatives of the People in general, not to pay any Regard to their Applications, (which They have an undoubted Right to make) and to induce Them to act in the same arbitrary and independent Manner, on this Occasion, as You seem resolv'd to do Yourself.

Having premis'd these Points, You proceed to the Particulars of your Concern; *that the Danger of a general Excise has been echoed through the Nation; and that your Electors have desired You to oppose any Propositi-
tion, that hath the least Tendency to it.*

I must own, Sir, that your Concern, as to this Article, is founded upon too much Reason. The Danger of a *general Excise* has justly alarm'd the whole Nation. They have already felt the Rigour of *Excise Laws*; and as the least *Extension of them* is one Step towards a *general Excise*, They have very wisely besought their *Representatives* to guard against it, under any Shape, or Disguise whatsoever.

You ask very gravely, (like one, who has made a *Riot*) What is the Meaning of all this Disturbance? *To whom are these Terrors owing?* I answer, they are owing to the *Man*, who projected *this glorious Scheme*; to the same indefatigable Genius, ever busy in devising *Ways and Means* to grieve and oppress his Fellow-Subjects.

But give me Leave to ask You, in my Turn, why You are so angry at the Imputation of designing a *general Excise*? If the *Excises*, already establish'd, are so extremely beneficial to the Publick, as You represent them, why should they not be made as extensive as possible? Why should You lay the least Restraint on
your

your Munificence, to the Publick? Why do You not make the Blessing of *Excises* as general and unlimited, as your own Power? — But, perhaps, You may think such a Torrent of Happiness at once would quite overwhelm us; and we must gratefully acknowledge You have been long preparing us for it, by no slow Degrees.

You now seem to grow a little more serious; and, after a formal Argument to prove that *Taxes are necessary in all Governments*, You conclude, without a risible Muscle on your Face, that the chief Care of the Legislature ought to consist in imposing such Taxes, as may be easiest borne by the whole Body of the People. I believe, say You, that these Maxims will remain uncontroverted; and I am of the same Opinion; for I believe there is not a Lad at *Eton School* so ignorant, as not to see the Force of them, or to hold an Argument with You on that Subject. — But let us now see your Application of these wise Maxims.

You tell us, with the same Gravity, that the present Revenue, appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, is more than sufficient to answer the annual Interest, and to discharge yearly one Million of the Principal.

I am ready to allow that the Revenue is already more than sufficient for all these Ends; but You know, Sir, that a *posse ad esse non valet Consequentia*. You do not say that one Million per Ann. of the Principal of our Debts hath been actually discharged, though it might have been; nor do I think it is absolutely certain that such an annual Sum will be discharged for the future, without incurring any new Debts; and give me Leave to observe that a Million per Ann. in perpetuum, to be collected by the Crown, and without Appropriation, may some Time or other be attended with mischievous Consequences to the Publick.

If This, Sir, is the Fact, what can You mean by endeavouring to harraß the People with new Burthens, under any Shape? You reply very magisterially, that
You

You have found out a Method of *supplying all the annual Exigencies of the Government, without burthening the Land, without laying any new Duty on any Commodity whatsoever, or any additional Duty on any Commodity already tax'd.* And how, I pray, is This to be done? Why by an *Alteration only of the present Method of collecting the publick Revenues, as to those two Commodities of WINE and TOBACCO.* — So then, — out it comes at last. The BUDGET is open'd; and our State Emperick hath dispensed his Packets by his *Zany Couriers* through all Parts of the Kingdom. For my self, I do not pretend to understand this Art of *political Legerdemain*; nor can I find out the Difference between a *new Tax*, and a *new Method of collecting an old Tax*, which will bring in a Sum, equivalent to a *new one*. I cannot possibly conceive from whence this additional Money is to come, unless it be out of the Pockets of the *People*; or in what the Difference to *Them* will consist, whether They pay it by *Customs*, or *Excise*; unless it be in the additional Oppression, in the Method of collecting the *latter*.

You tell us, that You are confident *this Alteration, in the Method of Collection*, will produce the Effects beforemention'd; but You are so good as to acknowledge, *that in order to prove This, it is necessary in the first Place to lay it down as a Truth, that great and monstrous Frauds are committed in the Importation and Exportation of those two Commodities.*

Now let us suppose, in Answer to This, that I should *lay it down as a Truth*, without any Proof to support my Postulatum, that *no Frauds at all are committed in the Importation, or Exportation of these Commodities*; would You not think it a very extraordinary Method of Reasoning? — But we have no Occasion to retort such Arguments upon You, and scorn to press You any farther upon this Head. We are ready to admit that *Frauds* are committed by some *unfair Dealers in these Commodities*, as well as in all others; and I believe it will

will be always found impracticable to prevent *Frauds*, of some Kind, in whatever Manner the Revenues may be collected, or to whatever Sort of Laws they may be subject. You know, *Sir*, that *Men in Office* will be corrupt. *Little Fellows*, with low Salaries, will be apt sometimes to copy their *Superiors*; and as They lye under more Temptation, it cannot be expected They should be always above the Influence of a *Bribe*. The whole Wisdom of the *Legislature* hath been many Years employ'd in preventing the *Officers of the Revenue*, (both *great and small*) as well as the *fraudulent Traders*, from being Copartners in this Sort of Iniquity. — They have long attempted it, I say, but hitherto without Success.

Now You would do well to inform us how *your Scheme* will prevent these collusive Frauds. Will the giving these Fellows *different Names*, while They continue under the same *small Salaries and Temptations*, immediately convert Them into *Men of Conscience and Honour*? — Is there any inherent Virtue in the Character of an *Exciseman*? — Will not a *good Bribe*, well apply'd, operate as effectually upon *Him* as a *Custom-House Officer*? And is it not equally the Interest of the *fraudulent Trader* to corrupt *one*, as well as the *other*?

But You are pleas'd to give us a Detail of several *Frauds*, committed by *some unfair Traders* in *Tobacco and Wine*. As I am not a Dealer in either of *these Commodities*, any more than Yourself, it cannot be expected that I should give You a particular Answer; but, upon the best Enquiries I have been able to make, I have Reason to believe that the chief Part of your Charge is false and groundless.

You tell us, with Regard to the *Tobacco Trade*, that *the Publick is liable, and hath been doubly defrauded by false Weights, and false Measures, viz. small Weights on Importation, by which the Duty is paid; large Weights*

Weights on Exportation, by which the Duty is drawn back.

Now, I am inform'd (and my Information seems to be founded on Reason) that the *same lawful Weights and Measures* are used both on Importation and Exportation by the *Officers of the Customs*; and that, instead of *one Officer* attending at the Scale, as You represent the Case, there are never less than *Three*; viz. the *Weigher, one Land-Waiter*, and a *Ship's Husband*; but I am told there are generally more; *Surveyors* being often with Them, and *other proper Checks*. Besides, the Place of weighing, in the *Customs*, is not, as in the Case of *Excise*, by *one Officer in private*; but by *several Officers* on some *open, lawful Quay*, where *Coopers and Porters* must attend, and *other Persons* may and frequently do attend; so that *Frauds*, in the Weight of *Tobacco*, do not seem to be very practicable, even under the *present Regulations*.

You tell us farther that the Revenue is defrauded of 200 *l.* Weight of *Tobacco* in every Hoghead on *Importation*, and as much on *Exportation*; besides the Advantage, which the Factor makes, if He be a *bold Adventurer* (as You are pleased to style Him) by having the *Tobacco stript and cut abroad, and getting it run in again*.

This Way of Reasoning, *Sir*, is asserting a great deal and proving nothing. Can You be so vain as to imagine that your *Ipse dixit*, without any Vouchers, will pass current for Authority, and blast the Reputation of a numerous and useful Body of Men? You are pleased, indeed, to suppose a Case, in which *such Frauds* have been committed; and tell us that You are able to prove it not ill grounded. This, perhaps, may be true; and what then? Instances, no doubt, may be produced of such Practices; but a *few particular Cases* ought not to be extended to the *whole Trade in general*, and involve the *Innocent* with the *Guilty*. All your fine Arguments, drawn from this Supposition, are therefore
nothing

nothing to the Purpose. Besides, You are obliged to acknowledge that the Connivance of a *corrupted Officer* is necessary to these *fraudulent Transactions*; so that the Question still recurs, whether the dubbing these Gentlemen with a new Title at the *Old Jewry* will prevent the *same Practices*, and prove a sovereign Antidote against *Corruption*.

You seem to insinuate that the *Importer* is not accountable to the Publick for his *Bond*, till after the Expiration of *three Years*; whereas it is payable, by Act of Parliament, in *eighteen Months*; so that if the *Tobacco* is not exported within that Time, the *Bond* may be put in Suit; or He must pay *Interest* for the Money.

In another Part of your Work, You come to Particulars, and give us an Account of a *Fraud*, which seems very curious. You tell us that the Dealers in *Tobacco* are guilty of one *Mystery of Iniquity*, by *pressing it close to make it dry and light on Importation*.—Pray, Sir, where did you make this new Discovery in Philosophy, that *pressing a Commodity close* will make it *light*, or that keeping the *Air* from it, which is likewise the Effect of *pressing it close*, will make it *dry*? I am sure, it is the common Practice of all experienced Smokers to keep their *Tobacco* press'd close down with a Weight upon it, not to make it *dry*, but to preserve it *moist*; and as to that *ingenious Mystery* of making a Commodity *light*, by *pressing it close together*, you seem to have consulted your *Irish Advocate*, *Carus*, and to have built your Argument on the wrong Side of that vulgar Problem; *which is the heaviest, a Pound of Lead, or a Pound of Feathers*?

But You make still deeper Discoveries in this *Mystery of Iniquity*; for besides *pressing it close, to make it dry and light on Importation*, You tell us *that They likewise water and wet it, even to the Increase of one fourth Part of the Weight on Exportation*.—As you before gave us a Specimen of your Learning in *Statics*, so you here discover the same Knowledge in the Qualities of *Water*;
which

which may be call'd your Honour's new Theory of *Hydrostaticks*. But as I do not pretend to be so great an Adept as Yourself, I hope you will be so good as to inform me how *Tobacco* can be increased *one fourth Part in the Weight*, without damaging, or intirely spoiling it. I wish likewise You would be pleased to explain another Point, that *no Duty is paid for two Thirds of the Wine and Tobacco consumed at Home*. This is to me a very extraordinary Assertion, and seems to stand in Need of some farther Proof. As you value Yourself, in this Performance, for speaking *Truths*, and call upon the *angry Man* to answer them, I hope you will descend to Particulars, and then the World will judge what Regard ought to be paid to your *Veracity*.

It hath been often allow'd that *Frauds* have been committed in the *Tobacco Trade*; tho', considering the Bulkyness of that Commodity, it seems impracticable to run it in any such Degree, as You represent. But why don't You tell the World where *these Frauds* are chiefly carry'd on, if not countenanced? You cannot be ignorant, *Sir*, of the clandestine Trade, in this Commodity, between *Glasgow* and other northern Parts of the Kingdom. Yet this *Mystery of Iniquity* is not so much as hinted at, thro' your whole Letter. What can be the Meaning of so much Tenderness, and even Partiality to our Fellow Subjects of *Scotland*, at this Juncture? Why such a total Silence on this Head; as if They had no Concern in the *present Scheme*, either as to the *Disease*, or the *Remedy* proposed by it? A few Days will shew *their Sense* of this Matter, and whether They are more resign'd to the Will of a *Minister*, than is usual in Cases of *national Concern*; for however They may flatter themselves, the Day must come at last, that will bring Them to an *Equality of Taxes*, and oblige Them to submit to the *same Burthen* with ourselves.

As to *Frauds*, on this Side the *Tweed*, whatever they may be, why are they confined wholly to the *Customs*?

— It is very well known that *Excises* have been at-

tended with as *great Mysteries of Iniquity*, as the *Customs*; particularly in *NORFOLK*; where a fraudulent Traffick hath been carry'd on with great Success, for many Years, in the Duties upon *Malt*, by the same Methods, which You are pleas'd to charge on the Dealers in *Tobacco*. If therefore *Excises* have such a secret Virtue in them, as to sanctify their *Officers*, and keep their Fingers undefiled, how came They to lose their Purity, and fall into the same wicked Arts with the *Officers of the Customs*? Perhaps, *Sir*, your own Knowledge of *these Frauds in Malt* might furnish You with the first Hint of this *glorious Scheme*; and the Corruptions of *Excises* in *Norfolk* give You Reason to suspect the same Abuses in the *Customs* at *London*. But supposing all these Practices to be true of the *Custom-house Officers*; why are they not prevented, or punish'd by Those at the Head of our *FINANCES*? — Are the *Laws*, or the Extent of *their Power*, too short to reach *these Offenders*? — Is *Corruption* grown so inveterate, as well as epidemical a Malady, that it is become incurable? — Hath the Countenance it hath received from our *Superiors*, and even from some of the *most holy Order of Men*, given it a Sanction, that makes it safe, as well as fashionable? — We know from whence *these Officers* derive their Authority, and by whom They are appointed. Have their *Principals* received any such Complaints against Them, and have there been no Examples of Punishment? Or will these Abuses admit of no Reformation, without destroying *Trade and Liberty*; or, to speak in Scripture-Language, *lying this Excise-Axe to the Root of the Tree*?

Yes, *Sir*, if your Scheme be really for the Improvement of the *Revenue*, and not merely a *Plain of Power*, I believe I could myself propose a Remedy against most of these Evils; for if there is the least Difference between *Excisemen* and *Custom-house Officers*, it cannot possibly consist in any Thing but This; that the *first* are appointed by the *Commissioners of Excise*, who may

may have Experience of their Fidelity, as well as Abilities, and therefore are, in some Manner, answerable for their Conduct; whereas the *latter* are the Creatures of the *Treasury*, and recommended from such *high Hands*, as render Them almost independent of their Masters at the *Custom-house*. Therefore, *Sir*, before You make any invidious Comparisons between *one Commission* and the *other*, you would do well to put them upon an Equality, in this Respect, and give the *Commissioners of the Customs* the same Power of nominating and advancing *their Officers*, as Those of the *Excise* have already. I am told that This was practised in the Time of *One of your Predecessors*; and if You please to revive it, I believe You will find no great Difference between Them, in Point of *Honesty*, or *Ability*; but, it seems, *no Regulations* will answer your Purpose, but subjecting the *Customs* to the *Laws of Excise*; and in this Point, *Sir*, we must beg Leave to hope that the *same Difference* will be continued for ever.

The *Frauds* in the *Wine Trade* succeed in their Course; and though You have not advanced one Argument, on this Head, but what hath been frequently exposed already, I plainly perceive by the Air of Triumph, with which you deliver yourself on this Part of the Subject, that you will impute it to Want of *Ability*, if I should pass it by, without any Notice.

You tell us, that a *great deal of Wine* is clandestinely run; and that the *greatest Part of what is sold in publick Houses* is nothing but a poisonous Composition of *unknown Materials*. In another Place, You say that the *knaveish Coopers and Vintners* sell ten times the *Quantities of the Wines* They purchase from the *honest Merchant*, by their *unreasonable Mixtures of cheap and, perhaps, poisonous Materials*.

Here likewise we are willing to admit, as it hath been allow'd already in the Course of this long Debate, that there are *Frauds and Impositions in this Branch of Trade*, by the Mixture and Adulteration of

Wines; but we cannot conceive them to be so exorbitant in the *Quantity*, or so noxious in the *Quality*, as You set them forth.

You must excuse me, Sir, if I take Notice that the Manner, in which this Part of the Argument has been treated by You, and especially your *Advocates*, is not only *indecent*, but *impolitic*. Had this Regulation of the *Wine Trade* been calculated only for the *Good of Mankind*, and to preserve the *Health of his Majesty's Subjects*; it was surely your Interest to conciliate the Minds of all People to it, especially Those most affected, by cool Reasoning, and smooth Words. But supposing your great Regard for our *Constitutions* might transport you a little beyond the Bounds of *Decency* against those common Poisoners, the *Vintners*; what Occasion was there to treat their *Wives and Daughters* in so cavalier a Manner, as a Parcel of *Bawds and Whores*, who were at the Service of every *drunken Rake*? — Have You then met with so little Opposition to your *Scheme*, as to encourage your *Advocates* to exasperate People in this Manner, and add the Insults of *brutal Language* to the Terrors of an *Excise*?

But instead of Reasoning with You any farther on this Subject, give me Leave to ask You a few Questions.

With what View can You insist so much on the *poisonous Compositions of the Coopers and Wine Brewers*?

— Do You really design that nothing but *Natt Wines* shall be sold for *Wine*? — Have You no Apprehensions that This will destroy the very End of your *Project*? — Come! lay your Hand on your Heart, and declare the Truth freely; that it is not your Design to preserve the People of *England* from being *poison'd*, but to increase the *Revenue*, by laying a Duty of *six Pounds* on every Hogshead of *Poison*, sold to Them by Authority. Be so good as to let us know whether the *Officers* will be order'd to take no Duty upon any Liquors call'd *Wines*, but what They shall be assured are *pure*? Or, if This should be the Case, don't You think

APPENDIX. 293

think it will be something difficult to pick up *Officers* of such exquisite Palates, as to distinguish *real Wines* from the artful Compositions of these *subtle Wizards*, (as your Advocates call Them) the *Coopers* and *Wine-Brewers*? Or, if You should be so happy as to get a compleat Collection of these *ingenious Artists*, and by their Means intirely destroy our *Home-Manufacture of Wine*; what would be the Consequence? Would not the *Price of Wine* be advanced? Might not that Advance lessen the *Consumption*, and consequently diminish the *Revenue*? Nay, if it should happen to be attended with none of these Consequences, and the *same Quantity of Wine* should continue to be drunk in *England*, must it not vastly enlarge the Importation of *foreign Wines*, according to your own excellent Calculation, and turn the *Balance of that Trade* intirely against us?

Having descanted, in this learned Manner, on the *mysterious Iniquities* committed by the Dealers in *Wine* and *Tobacco*, You affect a great deal of Concern for the poor People of *England*; whom, with a silly *Pathos*, you style the *unhappy Sufferers*, and are so good as to profess Yourself their *Advocate*. Your Compassion for their Sufferings, at this Time, is truly heroical, and comes with a peculiar Grace from the Mouth of *One*, who hath wantonly sported, for many Years past, with *Pains, Penalties* and *Taxes*. But there seems to be, at the same Time, a little *Spleen* and *Uneasiness* mix'd up with these Professions of *Sorrow* and *Affection* for the People. You tell us, with a very awkward Sneer, that it is almost impossible to believe that, in these Days of REFORMATION, there will not be the same Zeal shewn against Those, who defraud the whole Body of the People in so open, so notorious, so avowed and publick a Manner, as there hath justly been express'd against Those, who have been guilty of the like Crimes against particular Societies, or a few particular Persons.

Here, Sir, if I take you rightly, your Joy is not quite sincere. You do not seem to be altogether plea-

sed with these *Days of REFORMATION*. Methinks I see You in your Closet, while You are writing this elegant Passage, knitting your Brows, and muttering to Yourself — CHARITABLE CORPORATION! — DER-WENTWATER! — YORK BUILDINGS! — *Where the Devil will this REFORMATION end?*

I thought, *Sir*, all was not quite right with You by the last Paragraph; and in the next You discover it very plainly; for You immediately drop the smooth, cajoling Style, and, losing all your Temper at once, call every Body about you, JACOBITES and REPUBLICANS. You seem, indeed, to be a little sensible of your Disorder, by owning Them to be Persons of very remote Principles, and calling it an *unnatural Union*. Why really, *Sir*, the *Composition* is odd enough; a little more odd, I fancy, than any You will find in the *Vintners Cellars*.

We know that You have long been used to this Gentlemanlike Way of confuting your *Adversaries*; and it must be confess'd that You have formerly executed many hopeful Projects, by Virtue of this Word *Jacobite*; but it is too much worn at present to do You any Service; and therefore You tack the Word *Republican* to it, notwithstanding the Remoteness and Incongruity of their Principles. You tell us that these are the *only two Denominations of Men*, who have raised the *present Clamour* and opposed your *Scheme*.—What! does the City of *London* and most of the great trading Towns and Corporations in *England* consist of nothing but *Jacobites* and *Republicans*? But as You have always branded every Body with the Character of a *Jacobite*, who hath been formerly distinguish'd by the Name of a *Tory*, or an *High-Churchman*, in the Days of our unhappy Divisions; so it is very probable that, under the Denomination of *Republicans*, you include all Those, whether *Low-Churchmen* or *Dissenters*, who have been so unhappy as to dislike your Measures. If This, *Sir*, is your Meaning, I believe You will find Them no *inconsiderable Party*; for, lay-
ing

ing aside the vast Body of *Crown-Officers, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical*, I think They cannot amount, at a moderate Computation, to less than *Ninety-nine in an Hundred* of the whole Kingdom. I hope therefore that You have been a little too free, in stigmatizing all these Persons with the Character of being *Enemies to the ROYAL FAMILY, now establish'd on the Throne, and our PRESENT HAPPY CONSTITUTION.*

Thus far I am ready to admit your Assertion is just; that You have united these *two great Bodies of Men*, in the Sense before-mention'd, and brought about that happy *Coalition of Parties*, which we have long endeavour'd, but in vain, to accomplish. This, *Sir*, is the only good Effect attending your *Scheme*. But whether it was altogether politick in You to blab out this Secret, I leave to your own Judgment. It is, at least, a publick Confession from your own Mouth, *that two Parties, the most remote in their Principles, Views and Interests, are vigorously united in their Opposition to your Measures.*

But You affirm that this Opposition proceeds from the Apprehensions of the *unfair Traders*, that it will effectually prevent *Frauds in the Collection of the Revenue*; upon which you apply another Piece of School-boy's Latin; *hinc illæ Lacrymæ.* — No, *Sir*, You are as sensible as any Man in *England* that this general Opposition arises from the just Apprehensions of the People, founded on Experience, that the Manner of collecting Duties by *Excise* is ruinous to *Trade*, and tends to the Subversion of *Liberty*. They, who have felt the Rigour of *these Laws*, complain of them as grievous. For this Reason, They have declared against any *farther Extension of them*; and are resolved to oppose it by all *dutiful and lawful Methods*; but You, *Sir*, tell Them very graciously, that They are ignorant of their *own Interests*; that They know nothing of *Trade*; and that You are resolved to make Them happy under *these Laws*, whether They will, or not.

As a Proof that *this Remedy* will be adequate to the *Distemper*, You give us an Instance in the late Act, for excising *Coffee, Tea* and *Chocolate*; which, You say, hath brought above a *Million* more into the *Exchequer*, during the *eight Years*, in which they have been under *these excellent Laws*, than they produced in the *eight Years* preceding. How far We may take your Word for This, I know not; or, supposing it to be true, it may be owing to other Causes, besides the *Prevention of Frauds*; such as *Luxury*, and the *increased Consumption of these Commodities*, which is now become almost universal; for it is certain that *Tea* was never so much *run*, as it hath been since *that Act*; and I am credibly inform'd that whatever the *Excise* might produce at first, it hath dwindled away again for several Years past; so that, perhaps, We shall find, upon a strict Enquiry, that, excepting the Abatement of *Premiums on prompt Payment*, (which in Effect, is an *additional Tax*) the Publick hath gain'd but little by this *boasted Improvement of the Revenue*, besides an *Increase of Officers*, and the *Power of awing and harassing the Subject*; for there is hardly any Thing wanting in *that Act*, which is to be found in the *Finances of France, or Denmark*.

And yet You are not ashamed to suggest, *that the Inconvenience, which hath arisen from the Alteration of collecting the Duties on these Commodities, is in no Degree adequate to the vast Benefit, which hath accrued to the Publick*. — Pray, Sir, is not the distressing and vexing many Thousands of the People an *Inconvenience*? — Is not the Discontent of the People of *England* in general, arising from this Alteration, an *Inconvenience* of great Weight and Consequence? — Do You think, Sir, that nobody's Ease and Happiness are to be consulted but your own; or that your single Resolution ought to bear down the united Judgment of the People of *Great Britain*? — I apprehend, Sir, that This of itself would be such an *Inconvenience*,

ence, as no *Increase of the Duty* whatsoever would compensate to the People.

The next Thing remarkable in your *Letter* is your *Declamation on the fatal Mischiefs*, accruing to the *Merchants* and their *unfortunate Friends*, who are *Sureties for Them*, by their having *Credit* given Them on their *Bonds*; which tempts Them to employ their Money in *Exchange-Alley*.

What a noble Friend art Thou to the *Traders of Great Britain*? — Is not *Credit* equal to *Money*? — Is not *Credit* to the Publick a *Multiplication of Money*? — Have not You found it so, in many Instances, for your own Advantage? — Hath not the diffusive Influence of *Credit* reduced the *national Interest* to half what it was, in former Times? And, if the *Credit of Traders*, on which the *national Credit* depends, is taken from Them, how soon must They sink into *Bankruptcy*? — However, thus far I will agree with You; that an *Excise* will prevent the Ruin of many Families by *Credit*. — Why? — Because Multitudes of *Tradesmen* will be undone, for Want of Persons to give Them *Credit*. — Who will trust *Shop-keepers*, do You think, who are liable every Day of their Lives to be reduced to Ruin, for little *Mistakes*, or *Frauds*, by *arbitrary Judges* and *exorbitant Penalties*? — It is like giving Security for their GOOD BEHAVIOUR; which, in some Cases, is little less than a *Prohibition from lawful Business*.

As for STOCK-JOBING, if any Thing will encourage it more than usual, it is an *Excise*; and, perhaps, That may be one of your covert Reasons for pursuing *this Scheme* with so much undaunted Vigour; for if the *Merchants* and *Traders of England* should not be able to pursue their honest Business without a Load of heavy Chains on their Legs, They will naturally resort to *Stock-jobbing*. Despair of getting a competent Livelyhood by *Trade* in the common Way, to which They were bred, will drive Them to
extraordinary

extraordinary Methods of Subsistence. *Necessity* compels Men to Acts of Hazard and Danger. It forces some to the *Highway*; others to *Exchange-Alley*; and many to serve the vile Purposes of a *wicked Minister*. But You, Sir, cannot plead *Necessity* in your Excuse. It is meer Wantonness and Insolence of Power, which prompt You to sport, in this Manner, with the *Fortunes* and *Liberties* of your Fellow Subjects.

After this ridiculous Invektive against *Credit*, You are pleased to make an authoritative Declaration, without any Colour of Reason, or Coherence of Argument, *that in Consequence of this Scheme, Great Britain will become a free Port, and a general Storehouse for WINE and TOBACCO.*—So extraordinary an Assertion as This deserves a Remark or two; and first as to *Wine*.

For God Sake, what can *your Honour* mean by saying, that *your Scheme* will make *Great Britain* a Storehouse for *that Commodity*? How ignorant must You be of the Nature of all Sorts of *Trade*, except *one*, to fall into so silly a Mistake? To what Purpose should any Body *land Wines* here, in order to export them abroad? Was This ever heard of before? For my Part, I am an utter Stranger to any such Kind of Commerce; nor do I believe that *Wines* were ever, or will ever be exported from *Great Britain*, in any Quantities worth Regard. To what Place, I pray, can the Merchants be supposed to send them? *Other Countries* can buy *Wines*, or take them in Exchange for their *own Goods*, at a cheaper Rate than They can have them from *Us*.

And as for making *Great Britain* a free Port and a general Storehouse for *Tobacco*, *your Honour* seems to have fallen into a greater Blunder than in the former Article. Can this Island be the *Store-house* for *Tobacco*, in a greater Degree, than it is at present? Is not the chief Part of *this Commodity* the Growth of our *own Plantations*? And is not all our *Plantation-Tobacco* now brought hither? Can it be carried to any other Country, without being first landed in *Great Britain*? — At present therefore *this Island* may be properly

properly said to be the *general Store-house for Tobacco*, though not a *free Port*; and You would do well to consider, Sir, whether any Alteration in the Course of *this Trade*, especially by Way of *Excise*, may not affect it in a very great Degree, and encourage *other Nations* to become our Rivals in it; as They have already been, with too much Success, in *Sugar* and *other Commodities*.

You now pay your Devoirs to the *Retailer*, and make some Apologies to him for not taking his Case into Consideration before.

Why really, Sir, I think it is high Time to give these poor People a *few good Words*; and You seem to set out very fair; but on reading several Pages, under this Article, I can find nothing in them but the same Strain of *Railing* and *Abuse*, with an awkward Attempt to prove that it is all for *their Good*. You confine your *Invective*, indeed, to the *fraudulent Trader*; but You plainly intend it against the *whole Body of the Retailers in general*; for though You are pleased to admit that there is such a Thing in the World as a *fair Trader*, You do it in a mighty cool Manner, by Way of *Parenthesis*; as much as to say, *Rara Avis in Terris*! if I may venture to give You a little Scrap of *Latin* in my Turn. — But let us come to the Point; which brings us to the *second Objection against the proposed Alteration*; that it will be *injurious to ENGLISH LIBERTY*.

You begin with that Branch of the Objection, which concerns the *Power of the Officers to visit Houses*; and affirm, without any Hesitation, that it will be for *every honest Man's Advantage and Credit*; upon which I must beg Leave to ask You a few more Questions.

Good Sir, do You think it can be for the *Advantage of the honestest Man in England*, to have every Room in his House constantly liable to be rummaged, by Day or by Night, at the Will and Pleasure of a *scurvy little Fellow*, who may hope to recommend himself by being *vexatious in his Office*, or perhaps with an Intent only of drawing out a little *Civility Money*;

Money; which may afterwards be made a Charge against the *poor Retailer*, and involve him in *severe Penalties* and *ignominious Prosecutions*?

Is it for the *Advantage* of an *honest Man* to be at the Charge of keeping *Scales* and *Weights*, as well as being obliged *himself* to *assist* in *weighing his Goods*, as often as this *busy Familiar* shall be pleased to require it?

Is it for his *Advantage* to be at the Trouble of keeping *regular Accounts* of all the Goods He sells every Day, and to whom He sells them?

Is it for his *Advantage* to be continually dancing Attendance at the *Permit-Office*, and waiting the Pleasure of the *little Clerks* there, who may happen to be regaling Themselves at a *neighbouring Alehouse*, for every Quantity of Goods he may sell above *six Pound Weight*, or above a *Gallon* in exciseable Liquors; which is liable to be seized and forfeited without their Certificate?

Can it be thought to be either for the *Advantage* or *Credit* of an *honest Man* to lye under the Obligation of frequently purging himself upon *Oath*, in the exactest Manner, with Regard to his particular Dealings?

Is it for his *Advantage*, that these *Protestant Inquisitors* should be let into the particular Knowledge of all his Dealings; by which Means They may frequently have it in their Power to depress his *Credit*, and clandestinely work him out of his *Business*?

In Justification of these *exorbitant Powers*, You draw a very pretty Comparison between *Ships* and *Houses*, and tell us, that the *Custom-House Officer* has the same Power over *one*, that the *Exciseman* hath over the *other*. — But I must beg Leave to make a small Distinction in this Case.

A *Ship*, Sir, is a most ingenious Piece of *Mechanism*, design'd for the Conveyance of mercantile Goods from one Part of the World to another; and, as I apprehend with humble Submission, cannot be call'd a *fix'd Habitation*. For this Reason it is liable to Inspection in all Countries, like *Waggons* and *other common Vehicles*.

But

but a *Manſion-Houſe*, or *private Dwelling-place*, hath been always eſteem'd a Sort of *Sanctuary*, in moſt civilized Nations; eſpecially where *Liberty* prevails in any Degree; and, in *this Nation*, it hath always paſſ'd under the Name of a *Man's Caſtle*; till You, *Sir*, form'd the Project of invading and reducing it to the ſame precarious State with our *floating Caſtles*.

But You ſeem to think *this Viſitation of Houſes* abſolutely neceſſary, and not at all inconvenient to the *honeſt Trader*. The *honeſt Trader* is of another Opinion, and knows there is a *Mystery*, even in the *faireſt Trade*, which ought not to be diſcover'd. *Dear Sir*, give me Leave to appeal to Yourſelf, in this Caſe. Do You not from your Heart believe the Art of *Decyphering* to be a very *honeſt Trade*? Do You not think it as *myſterious* an Art as any carried on, even by the *Wine-Brewers* and *Tobacco-Factors*? And yet, *Sir*, You may remember that it was adjudg'd by the higheſt Authority, on a very ſolemn Occaſion, that This was a *Mystery*, which ought not to be reveal'd; though the Inter'eſt of only two PERſONS in the whole Kingdom were concern'd in it.

But let me go a little farther on this Subject of diſcovering the *Mysteries of Trade*. What is the Reaſon, *Sir*, for giving large Sums of Money with *Apprentices*? Is it only for *Board and Lodging*; or is it to inſtruct Them in the *Art and Mystery of the particular Trade*, to which They are bound? Are not *theſe Words* the very Terms expreſſ'd in their *Indentures*? If therefore your *Reaſoning* is juſt, and your *Scheme* ſhould prevail, I would adviſe all Gentlemen, as well as Others, to bind their Sons *Apprentices to Exciſemen*, as the beſt Way to inſtruct Them in the *Mysteries of all Trades at once*; ſo that if *one fails*, They may take up *another*.

But here You recur once more to the *Mysteries of Iniquity*, and aſſert that it is upon this Account the *Retailers* dread an Inſpection. — Lord, *Sir*, how came *You*, of all Men in the World, to be ſo fond of

discovering *Mysteries of Iniquity*? Do but consider what a terrible Fright You was in but a few Pages before, on Account of *these Days of Reformation*. One would think that You had lost your SENSES with your HONESTY, as your learned Advocate Mr. Osborne observed, in his judicious Paper of *Saturday* last; but I will put the Issue of our present Dispute on *this single Point*. — Will You, *Sir*, who are so zealous for extending this *visitatorial Power*, be pleased to put Yourself under the *same Jurisdiction*, and consent to have your *Accounts inspected*, and the *Mystery of your Dealings exposed*, in the same rigorous Manner, by *Commissioners*, to be appointed by the PEOPLE? Grant us only *this Point*, and I believe all the Corporations in *England*, *LYNN* itself not excepted, would revoke their *late Instructions*, and heartily concur in a *Scheme*, which might be attended with such *infinite Advantage to the Nation*, and, perhaps, no small *Improvement of the Revenue*.

But as we can have no Hopes that *You* will ever consent to any *Inquisition of this Sort*, let us examine the remaining Part of your *Letter*.

The Privilege of *Englishmen*, to be try'd by *Juries*, is so well understood by every Class of People, and the Argument upon it hath been so fully exhausted, in the Course of *this Dispute*, that it may be thought almost impertinent to offer any Thing farther on that Subject; and I do assure you, *Sir*, that nothing should induce me to do it but your own great Authority, in seconding the ridiculous Arguments of your little Advocates against this fundamental Privilege of the People.

However, *Sir*, I shall be very short, and consider only the *Instances* You have produced, to support your Argument against *this Method of Trial*.

For this Purpose, You are pleased to mention the *Land-Tax and Window-Tax*; *Disputes about Parish Rates*; the *Repairs of Highways and Bridges*; the *Payment of Servants*

Servants and Manufacturers Wages; and Disputes between the Clergy and their Parishioners, about small Tythes; all which Cases, You tell us, are directed by Law to be adjudged and determined either by particular Commissioners for that Purpose, or by neighbouring Justices of the Peace, either in their private Capacity, or at the Quarter Session, and WITHOUT A JURY.

But it unluckily happens, in all these Cases, that there is not *one Penalty, or Forfeiture*, accruing to the *Officers*, or the *Crown*; neither are the *Officers* appointed by the *Crown*; but by the *Parliament*, their respective *Counties*, or *Parishes*; so that all these Instances are quite foreign to the Case of *Excises*, and nothing to the Purpose.

You confess that, *in the Case of small Tythes, the Vicar may, if He pleases, sue in the Exchequer*; and therefore I am at a Loss to guess for what Purpose You could insert This in your Collection of Cases, determinable in a *summary Manner*, without a Trial by *Juries*.

You likewise acknowledge, *that the greatest Privilege of an Englishman is a fair and impartial Trial, and in most Cases by a JURY.* — Let me ask You therefore how the *Merchants of England* have so far incur'd *your Honour's Displeasure* as to be excluded from this *greatest Privilege of Englishmen*? — I believe, *Sir*, that I may answer for the whole Body of Them, that They would rather submit to the Vexation and Expence of a Prosecution in the Court of *Exchequer*, where Trials by *Juries* are still preserved, than leave their Property to the arbitrary Determination of *Court-Commissioners*; and This, *Sir*, is all I shall say to You, at present, upon the Point of *Juries*.

You now proceed to the *Dangers* apprehended, (or insinuated, as you call it) from the *new Levy of Officers*, which will be necessary to put your *Scheme* in Execution; and comfort us with an Assurance that the Number will be very inconsiderable; which You are

pleased to illustrate by the small Increase of *Officers*, occasion'd by the late Act for excising *Coffee, Tea and Chocolate*. You inform us that the additional *Officers*, created on that Account, were no more than 80, excepting *Clerks, and Persons employ'd solely in Writing*; and that the present proposed Increase will not be 150 in all ENGLAND; BESIDES some Warehouse-keepers in this Town of London, whose sole Business it will be to keep a Key jointly with the Merchants.

Well, Sir, let us allow this Calculation to be just, and that no more than 150 *Officers* will be added for ENGLAND, on your new Scheme; yet including SCOTLAND, and the *Officers* employ'd there, with all the additional *Clerks* and *Warehouse-men*, on Account of *Tea, Wine* and *Tobacco*, in both Kingdoms, They will certainly amount to a very large Number. Let us suppose Them only to be 500; can such an Increase, added to the 600 raised last Year, on Account of the *Salt Duty*, and the vast Multitude subsisting before, be thought of no Danger? May not all these *Offices* be given to the Sons, Servants, or Dependents of THOSE PERSONS, whom a Minister too often finds it his Interest to oblige? And does not This tend to abridge and undermine the Freedom of those Assemblies, which is the only Support of our Liberties and Constitution? But what Security can the Publick have, if your Project should take Effect, that You will raise no more than 150 of these new Troops? May You not enlist what Numbers You please, even ad Infinitum, if You find it necessary for the Support of your Measures? Who can controul You, when the Scheme is establish'd, if the united Voice of the whole Kingdom cannot controul You at present?

As to the *Warehouses*, which You acknowledge to be a Part of your Scheme, I shall only observe that it is exactly another charitable Corporation Project. The Goods of the Merchants, it seems, are to be deposited, like common Pledges, in your Honour's Lumber Houses,

APPENDIX. 305

Houses, under the Inspection and Care of such an honest Steward, as *John Thompson*.

But I am really weary of following You through this Labyrinth of Inconsistency and Folly. I shall therefore conclude with a few short Reflections upon the whole.

Aristotle observes very justly, that great Care ought to be taken in changing the *fundamental Parts of any Government*; and that the utmost Caution ought to be had against *Those*, who attempt it *by Degrees*.——

Machiavel, (who was, perhaps, as great a *Politician*, though not quite so honest a Man) says, in Effect, the same Thing; when He advises any *Prince*, or *Minister*, who has a Mind to alter the *Constitution* of his Country, to preserve the *same outward Forms*; and tells us that the Power of the *Roman People* was intirely destroy'd by these Means.

Let us now apply these Maxims to the Case of *Excises*.

When *this Method of Taxation* was first establish'd amongst us, in Times of a *civil War*, the *Projectors* of it proceeded by *regular Degrees*, against the general Inclination of the People; but finding Themselves strong enough to succeed in their first Attempt, They went farther; *whereupon Mr. Pym*, as *Dugdale relates*, did by his Letter to Sir John Hotham, signify, that They had proceeded in the Excise to many Particulars, and intended to go on farther; but that it would be necessary to use the People to it by little and little; and accordingly, under the specious Pretences of paying the Debts, maintaining the Army, and Security of Trade, before the Year was ended, They extended the Excise to be general, even to the SHAMBLES.

When the same Scheme was attempted, after the Revolution, it was propos'd only for a short Time, during the Exigencies of a War; and Dr. *D'Avenant*, who wrote for *Excises*, at that Time, by the Direction of the *Treasury*, hath this remarkable Paragraph in his *Essay on Ways and Means*, viz.

306 APPENDIX.

“ When the People, *says He*, grow once so degenerate, as to surrender the Rights of the Nation, “ there is no Ward against *such Corruption*; and a “ *Parliament*, that would consent to continue *Excises* “ beyond the *Necessities of the War*, would give up “ *MAGNA CHARTA*, or settle the present *Land Taxes* “ in Perpetuity on the *Crown*; but it is hoped there “ are not Hands enough, in this Country, to help a “ *few Flatterers* in the pulling down the Fences of “ our *Liberty*, and to promote a *Design*, that would “ as well ruin the *King*, as his *People*.

But it is now Time to draw to a Conclusion; and I will do it, by putting You in Mind, that your *Advocates* have, for several Months, endeavour'd to ridicule our Apprehensions of an *Excise*; and asserted that if any *such Alteration in the Revenue* should be proposed, it would not be attended with those terrible Circumstances, with relation to *Furies*, entering *Houses*, &c. which the *Incendaries*, as They are call'd, have represented. But your Honour has fully verified all, that hath been said by these *wicked Malignants*, in the Pamphlet now before us. We have nothing therefore to hope, but that our *Representatives in Parliament* will reject your *Scheme*, and persevere in the glorious Spirit of their Predecessors, by declaring with an unanimous Voice, *NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI*.

As this ever-memorable Sentence is the great Foundation of *MAGNA CHARTA*, I hope You will not be displeased, *Sir*, with a short Quotation from an * *old Book*, in which the sacred Regard, which our Ancestors paid to that *indelible Law*, is given us in a full and a strong Light.

“ The Time would fail me, should I enlarge upon “ that inviolable Bulwark of our *Liberties* and *Property*, “ the *MAGNA CHARTA*, or *GREAT CHARTER* of

* *The Case of the BANKERS, &c.*

“ *ENGLAND*;

“ ENGLAND ; a *Charter*, purchas’d with the Treasure
 “ and seal’d with the Blood of our Ancestors ; a Law
 “ promulg’d and establish’d to the *English*, with a
 “ Terror and Solemnity inferior only to That of the
 “ *holy Commandments* by God himself to the *Jews*.
 “ There was here no *Thunder*, or *Lightning*, it is true ;
 “ but there was so dreadful a Fulmination of Curses
 “ upon the *Violators* thereof, that no Man ever yet
 “ consider’d them without Horror and Astonishment ;
 “ a Law, revered by *former Parliaments* to that Degree,
 “ that they enact’d *Transcripts* thereof to be carefully
 “ preserv’d in all the *Cathedrals* of the Realm ; that it
 “ should be four times a Year carefully read before the
 “ *People* ; that twice in a Year the *Prelacy* (*Pontifica-*
 “ *tibus induti, & * Candelis accensis*) should Thunder
 “ out the greater *Excommunication* against the *In-*
 “ *fringers* thereof, though but in *Word* or *Council*,
 “ (says the Statute;) that the *Lord Chancellor* and all
 “ the great *Ministers of State*, upon Entry into their
 “ Offices, should constantly be sworn to the Observa-
 “ tion thereof; that it should be allow’d as the *common*
 “ *Law*, by all Officers of Justice; that all *Statute*
 “ *Laws*, or *Judgments*, in Opposition thereto, should
 “ be *null* and *void*; nay, that the very *Priests* and
 “ *Confessors* should frame the Consciences of the People
 “ to the Observance thereof; and lastly a *Law*, con-
 “ firm’d by no less than *Thirty-two several Acts of*
 “ *Parliament*.—And what was the Reason of all this
 “ Veneration and Diligence? Was *this Charter* of
 “ that Sanctity and Importance?—Yes surely; the

* This Ceremony, as related by another Author, was thus. The *Bishops*, holding lighted Candles in their Hands, extinguish’d them, and threw them on the Ground, every one present crying out; *thus let HIM be extinguish’d and sink in Hell, who violates THIS CHARTER.*

“ Presence

" Presence thereof was then thought as necessary to
 " the *English*, as That of the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*;
 " the *holy Ark* to the *Hebrews*; the *Sea-Banks* to the
 " States of *Holland*. In Company of *this Tutelar*,
 " there was no possible Danger. In the Absence there-
 " of, no possible Safety. Such then was the Care of
 " our Ancestors, (*wise Men*, perhaps, tho' not so
 " *great Clerks*) in the Munition and fencing about of
 " *their Rights* and *Properties*; and so invincible was
 " their Zeal to transmit *those Jewels* to their Posterities,
 " with the same Lustre and Beauty, that They them-
 " selves had received from their Predecessors; those
 " *old English Heroes* seeming to me to bear always in
 " mind that Saying of our Countryman, and great
 " Captain, GALGACUS, when his Army was in the
 " Instant of joining Battle here with the *Roman Inva-*
 " *ders*; *et Majores vestros & Posterios cogitate*; *Fellow*
 " *Soldiers*, says He, *Remember your ANCESTORS and*
 " *your POSTERITIES*; a short Speech, but containing
 " more of Argument and Persuasion, than can be
 " express'd in ten Reams of Paper.

How say You, *Sir*, do you like this Kind of Reason-
 ing?—If You do, give me Leave to conclude with
 one short Passage more from the *same Author*; which
 he reports as the familiar Saying of Sir EDWARD
 COKE, and tells us *will remain a Maxim of eternal*
Truth in this State;—viz. *That no Subject (tho' never*
so POTENT and SUBTILE) ever confronted, or justified
with the LAW OF ENGLAND, but the SAME LAW in
the End infallibly BROKE HIS NECK.

The End of VOL. X.

THE



T H E
I N D E X
T O T H E
Tenth Volume.

A.

- A**DDISON (Mr.) his Opinion of *Trade* and the
British Merchants, 197.
Advertisements; of the *Norfolk Device*, for gauging Ves-
sels, 130—Of a Sermon preach'd at *Westminster*,
188—Of the *Projector's Looking-Glass*, 215—Of a
Bill lost for a large Sum of Money, drawn upon
Mess. Smokers and Company, 216.
Anglicus; his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 134.
Archer (Sir) a Remark upon one of his Speeches, 163.
Aristotle; his Remark upon Alterations in Govern-
ment, 305.
Armies; (*standing*) the Dangers and Oppressions of
them, 69—The Distinction between *standing Ar-*
mies, and *Parliamentary Armies*, consider'd, 70—
An Enquiry into the Necessity of keeping up the
present Number of standing Forces, in this Kingdom,
79—The Expediency of breaking *whole Corps*, or
Regiments,

The INDEX.

Regiments, 82—Sir Robert Cotton's Opinion of *standing Armies*, 97—Some Account of a Design to enslave the Nation by a *standing Army*, in the Year 1627, 201—Mr. *Walsingham's* ridiculous Arguments, on this Subject, exposed, 266.

B.

- B**eggars (*sturdy*) the *Merchants* so called, 194.
Benden (*John Vanden*) his Case, 277.
Bold (*Robert*) his Advertisement for a *Bilk*, that he had lost, 216.
Bowden (Mr.) his Case, 274.
Britain; (*Great*) in what consists its *natural Strength* and *Security*, 89.
Buckingham (*Villars Duke of*) how practised upon by the *Jesuits*, 204.
Brewers; what Regard They deserve from the Government, 109.—How They are deprived of their *Liberties*, 116.
Briton (*Patrick*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, proving *Carus* to be an *Irishman*, 131.
Budget (*open'd*) a Pamphlet so call'd, 280.

C.

- C***arus*; proved to be an *Irishman*, 131 — Some Remarks on one of his Papers, 182—220.
Cbarta (*magna*) the great Regard paid to it by our Ancestors, 306.
Chester; (the City of) an Account of the late Proceedings there, on the Election of a *Mayor* and *Representative*, 153.
Civil List; a Distinction between it and the *publick Revenues of the Nation*, 228.
Clarendon, his Remark on *Excises* during the late *Civil Wars*, 30.
Cocquet (Mr. *Judas*) his Device for gauging Vessels, 130.
Companies; the *Frauds* and *Mismanagements* of them, 101.

Coke

The INDEX.

Coke (Sir Edward) his Saying, concerning our Laws, 308.

Cotton (Sir Robert) his Opinion concerning our *Fleet* and *Militia*, 96 — And against *standing Armies*, 97.

Courant (*daily*) the Arguments advanced there, in Favour of *Excises*, consider'd at large, 219 — A Certificate sign'd by the principal *Druggists*, in Answer to a Paragraph in that Paper, 278.

Credit (in *Trade*) some Reflections upon it, 297.

Crown; some Remarks on the *Power* of it, 169 — How it would have been increased by the *Excise-Bill*, 304.

Customs; (*Laws of*) the Advantage of them over *Excise Laws*, 11 — Objections to them answer'd, 44 — 246 — *Frauds* in them, as well as in *Excises*, 289.

D.

D'Anvers; (*Caleb*) the Consistency of his Writings for several Years together, 120 — His Remarks on a Book intitled, *an Essay on the publick Debts of this Kingdom*, 121 — His Congratulation to his Countrymen, on the Defeat of the *Excise Scheme*, 210 — His Papers *excised*, 222 — Hath not met with any Favour from the Government, 226.

D'Avenant (Dr.) his Arguments misrepresented by the *Courant*, 253 — His Observation upon *Excises*, 305.

Decyphering (the Art of) an Observation upon it, 301.

Device (*Norfolk*) for gauging Vessels, 130.

Distillers; what Regard They deserve from the Government, 109 — How They are deprived of their *Liberties*, 116 — The Heads of their Petition to *Parliament*, 118 — Several Instances of their Hardships, 269.

Dreams; concerning the *Excise Scheme*, 140.

Druggists; their Case, with Relation to the *Tea-Act*, 245 — A Certificate sign'd by Them, in Answer to the *Daily Courant*, 278.

East

The INDEX.

E.

E*ast-India* (Company) the Frauds and Mismanagements of it, 103.

Elections; (of *Members of Parliament*) how the Freedom of them was invaded at *Chester*, 155.

Elizabeth; (Queen of *England*) desired no other Guard than the *Affection of her People*, 97.

English (J.) Some Remarks on his Writings, in Favour of *Excises*, 220.

Englishmen; their Right to petition the Parliament, and instruct their Representatives, asserted, 127—150—165—186.

Epigram; in a Dialogue between *W——l——e* and *H——d——l*, 210.

Essay; (on the *publick Debts of this Kingdom*) some Remarks upon it, 121.

Excises; an Introduction to some Essays on that Subject, 3—How they affect *Trade*, 9—And *national Liberty*, 16—An Enquiry into the *Origin* of them, 24—The Nature of a *general Excise* consider'd, in View to the *present Scheme*, 34—What *Taxes* are already converted into *Excises*, 39—Some farther Remarks upon them, 44—No effectual Remedy against *Smuggling*, 47—Nor Improvement of the *Revenue*, 49—Farther consider'd, with Regard to the Practice of *Holland*, and in View to a *Land-Tax*, 52—The general Argument against them concluded and summ'd up, 62—Remarks on the horrible Oppressions, Insolencies, and unjustifiable Partialities of the *Commissioners of Excise*, 108—All the chief *Maxims of our Law* invaded by their *Method of Trial*, 115—How the Penalties have been encreased from Time to Time, 116—The *Commissioners of Appeal* pretended Judges only, 117—When, and by whom, the late *Excise Scheme* was chalk'd out, 122—How the *People* have express'd their Resentment against it, 137—A Dream upon that Occasion,, 140—Farther Reflections on the

The INDEX.

the *late Scheme*, 141 — Some Considerations offer'd to the *Landholders* against it, 145 — The *Excises* of *Holland* and *Venice* compared with Those of *this Kingdom*, 164 — The *Excise Scheme* farther consider'd, with Relation to the *Revenue*, 168 — With Relation to *Scotland*, 171 — A Defence of the *Considerations*, address'd to the *Landholders*, against the *Scheme*, 181 — Some farther Observations on the same Subject, 189 — Some Account of a Design to enslave the Nation by *Excises*, in the Year 1627, 201 — The *Craftsman's* Congratulation of his Countrymen upon their Deliverance from the *late Scheme*, 210 — The whole Subject of *Excises* consider'd farther at large, 217 — As to the *Expence of collecting them*, 234 — The Powers and Conduct of the *Commissioners of Excise* particularly examined, 239 — The Difference between *Excise Laws* and Those of the *Customs* farther consider'd, 246 — An Enumeration of the different *Trades*, which are already under the Power of *Excise Laws*, 259 — Extracts from a Pamphlet, intitled, *Remarks on the horrible Oppressions, Insolencies, &c. of the Commissioners of Excise*, 269 — The general Subject of *Excises* farther consider'd, 280.

Exclusion (Bill of) a remarkable Observation, upon that Occasion, 268.

F.

F*east* (Sir *Felix*) his Case, 274.
Fendril (Mr.) his Case, 276.
Financier (occasional) his Arguments in Favour of the *Excise Scheme* answer'd, 142 — 181.
France; a Distinction between the *Taxes* there and in *England*, 176.
Frauds (in the *Wine* and *Tobacco Trade*) consider'd, 285 — And in the *Customs*, 289 — A Method proposed for preventing them, 290.
Free Briton; his Arguments for *standing Armies* examined, 70 — Reduced to Anti-Syllogisms, 119.

VOL. X. D d *Frye*

The INDEX.

Frye (*Rowland*) his Case, 277.

Fuller (Mr.) prosecuted by the *Commissioners of Excise*, 242.

G.

Gibraltar; some Queries concerning the Danger of it, 195.

Green (*William*, Esq.) petitions the *House of Commons* against the *Commissioners of Excise*, 243.

Grocers; their Case, with Relation to the *Tea-Act*, 245.

H.

Hall (*Henry*) his Case, 276.

Hampden (Mr.) his Arguments against a general *Excise*, 61.

Hampden (old) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 119.

Handel (Mr.) an Account of his tyrannical Schemes and Insolencies to the Town, 206.

Holland; some Observations on the Government of it, 52.—The *Excises* there compared with those of this Kingdom, 164—184.

Hospital (of the *Revenue*) what, 179.

Howel (Mr.) his Account of the first *Excises* in *England*, 28.

I.

Iacobites, join'd with *Republicans*, 294.

Jesuits; some Account of their Practices here, in the Reign of *Charles the first*, 201.

Impressing; prejudicial to our Navy, and inconsistent with *Magna Charta*, 91.

Instructions (to the *People's Representatives*) the Right of them asserted, 127—150—165—186—282.

Juries; (*Trials by*) the Advantages of them, 11—

The Subject deprived of them by *Excise Laws*, 12—114—Some Remarks on the late Act for the better Regulation of *Juries*, particularly the Clause about *special Juries*, 134—The great Advantage

of *Trials by Juries* farther consider'd, 223—302.

Justices (of the *Peace*) their great Power, of late Years, 225—247.

Landholders;

The INDEX.

L.

L *Andholders*; some Considerations offer'd to Them upon the *Excise Scheme*, 145 — A Defence of Them, 181.

Laws (of *England*) what Alterations ought to be made in them, 235.

Letters; from an unknown Hand to Mr. *D'Anvers*, concerning the Frauds and Mismanagements of *public Companies*, 101 — From *Phileleutherus* to the same, with a Passage from *Shakespeare*, concerning the Grievances of this Nation in the Reign of *Richard the second*, 106 — From old *Hampden* to the same, in which Mr. *Walsingham's* Arguments for a *standing Army* are reduced to Anti-syllogisms, 119 — From *Patrick Briton* to the same, proving *Carus* to be an *Irishman*, 131 — From *Anglicus* to the same, with some Remarks on the Act for the better Regulation of *Juries*, particularly the Clause about *special Juries*, 134 — From an anonymous Hand to the same, on the Methods of expressing *popular Resentment*, 137 — From *Vinarius* to the same, in Defence of the *Vintners*, 144 — From *S. S.* to the same, with an Address to the *Landholders* against the *Excise Scheme*, 145 — From an unknown Hand to the same, concerning the late Election of a *Mayor* and *Representative* for the City of *Chester*, 153. — From *Bob Short* to the same, concerning the *Pension Bill*, 163 — From *Phileleutherus Britannicus* to the same, containing a Comparison between the *Excises* of *Holland* and *Venice* with Those of this Kingdom, 164 — From an unknown Hand to the same, in which the *Excise Scheme* is farther consider'd, with Relation to *Scotland*, 171 — A second Letter from *S. S.* to the same, in Defence of his Address to the *Landholders*, 181 — A second Letter from *Phileleutherus Britannicus*, in Defence of his former, 183 — From *X* to the same, in Answer to a Letter from a Member of *Parliament*, 194 — From a

The INDEX.

Jesuit in *England* to the Rector of that Order at *Brussels* in the Year 1627, discovering a Design at that Time for enslaving the Nation by *Excises* and a *standing Army*, 201—From *P—lo R—li* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, against Mr. *Handel's* tyrannical Schemes, 206.

Liberty; how affected by *Excise Laws*, 16—And by *standing Armies*, 69—The Case of *Excises*, with Regard to *Liberty*, farther consider'd, 299.

Locke (Mr.) his Observations upon *Land-Taxes* and *Duties on Commodities*, 56—By what the *Price of Things* is govern'd, 232.

Looking-Glass. (the *Projector's*) some Account of it, 215.

Luxury; a *Tax* upon it recommended, 192—*Wine* and *Tobacco* do not properly fall under that Denomination, *ib.*—Farther Reflections on it, 197.

M.

M*achiavel*; his Remark upon Alterations in Government, 305.

Mackley (Mr.) prosecuted by the *Commissioners of Excise*, 242.

Malt; a fraudulent Trade of it carried on, in *Norfolk*, 290.

Marlborough (*John Duke* of) his Opinion of sudden Descents upon *England*, 95.

Marrall (Sir *Robert*) an Advertisement of his last dying Words and Confession, 215.

Merchants (*British*) abused by a *Court Writer*, 49.

—And defended by Mr. *D'Anvers*, *ib.*—167—

Call'd *sturdy Beggars*, 194—Farther defended, 196

—233—*Duties of Customs* originally laid for the Protection of the *Merchant*, 253.

Militia; the strongest Defence of free Countries, 96—

Sir *Robert Cotton's* Sentiments upon this Head, *ib.*

How they may be regulated and disciplined, 100.

Ministers (of *State*) have no Preheminence above other *Gentlemen*,

The INDEX.

*Gentlemen, in the House of Commons, 236—The
Glory of our present Ministers, 266.*

N.

N*avy (British)* one of our chief Securities, 89.
—How it ought to be regulated and managed, 90.
Norfolk; some Account of a fraudulent Trade carried on there, 290.

O.

O*fficers; (civil and military)* the Increase of Them dangerous to *Liberty*, 20—191—258—299
—How far They would have been increased by the *Excise-Bill*, 303.
Osborne, (Francis, Esq;) some Remarks on his Notion of *Excises*, 6—His Arguments on that Subject farther examined, 124—Proved an *old Woman*, 150
—Some farther Remarks upon her Writings, in Favour of the *Excise Scheme, ib.*—Her Prophecies concerning it proved false, 213.

P.

P*etitions (to Parliament)* the Right of the People to them asserted, 127—150—165—186—282.
Pbileleutherus; his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 106.
Pbileleutherus (Britannicus,) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 164—Another Letter to the same, in Defence of the former, 183.
Plantation (Trade) of no Benefit to us, 179.
Pot (Ale) some Observations upon it, 244.
Poverty (national) the Effects of it, 18.
Press (the Liberty of the) some Queries concerning the Danger of it, 196—Under a *double Excise*, 222.
Pym (Mr.) his Observation upon *Excises*, 305.
Rabbit;

The INDEX.

R.

Rabbit; the Story of it, 194.
Republicans, join'd with *Jacobites*, 294.
Resentment (*popular*) various Methods of expressing it, 137.
Revenue; *Excises* no Improvement of it, 49 — 168
 — The *Hospital of the Revenue*, what, 179 —
 Great Regard paid to it by the *antient Laws of the Kingdom*, 227 — A Distinction between the *publick Revenue of the Nation* and the *Civil List*, 228.
Richard the 2d, King of *England*) the Grievances of *England*, in his Reign, described by *Shakespeare*, 107.

S.

Salt (*Duty*) taken off and revived, 124 — The Hardship of it, 175.
Scotland; the *Excise Scheme* consider'd, with Relation to that Part of the Kingdom, 172.
Shakespeare; his Description of the Grievances of *England*, in the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. 107.
Short (*Bob*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, 163.
Smuggling; the true Cause of it, 47 — How it affects Trade, 255.
South Sea (*Company*) the Frauds and Mismanagements of it, 104.
Stanley (*Richard*) his Case, 270.
St. Alban's (the Borough of) their Instructions to their Representatives against the *Excise Scheme* vindicated, 151.
Stamp (*Office*) the *Commissioners* of it *Licensors* of the *Press*, 222.
Statute (*Staple*) what, 238.
Stuckjobbing; by what promoted, 297.

T.

Taxes; how they ought to be laid and collected, 9 — 18 — The Preference of a *Land-Tax* to *Duties on Commodities*, 56 — Farther Reflections on the

The INDEX

- the Method of imposing and collecting *Taxes*, 110
 — *No Charge*; some Remarks on a Piece so call'd,
 174 — The *Trade of Taxes*, what, 179 — Ought
 not to be rais'd with any Circumstances of *Severity*,
 or *Rigour*, 230 — Whether they fall upon the *Con-*
sumer only, 231 — The Mischief of laying grievous
Taxes upon *Trade*, 232 — *Taxes of Customs* origi-
 nally laid for the Protection of *Trade*, 253 — The
 Method of imposing *Taxes* farther consider'd, 284.
Tea (Act) some Remarks upon it, 248 — 296.
Temple (Sir *William*) his Observations on the Go-
 vernment of *Holland*, 53.
Titus (Colonel) a remarkable Observation of his, up-
 on the *Exclusion-Bill*, 268.
Tobacco (Trade) some Observations upon it, 262 — The
Frauds in it consider'd, 285.
Trade; how affected by *Excises*, 9 — Is founded on
Liberty, 14 — The *Trade of Taxes*, what, 179 —
Mercantile Trade defended, 196 — The Mischief of
 laying grievous Impositions on *Trade*, 232 —
Duties of Customs originally laid for the Protection
 of it, 253 — The *Frauds* in it consider'd, 285 —
 How affected by *Excises* farther consider'd, 299.
Trenchard (Mr.) his Reasons for depending on our
Fleet and a regular *Militia* against *Invasions*, 94.
Trueby (Mr.) his Case, with Relation to the *Pot-Act*,
 245.

V.

- V** *enice*; the *Excises* there compared with those
 of this Kingdom, 164 — 175 — 184.
Villars (Duke of *Buckingham*) how practis'd upon by
 the *Jesuits*, 204.
Vinarius; his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Defence of
 the *Vintners*, 144.
Vyner (Dr. *Robert*) his Sermon at *Westminster*, 188.
Vintners; how treated by the *Occasional Financier*, 142
 Defended,

The INDEX.

Defended, 144—Whether the *Excise-Scheme* would prevent their *Adulteration of Wine*, 260—292.
Virginia (Trade) of no Benefit to us, 179,

W.

W *Alfingham (Francis, Esq;)* his Arguments in Favour of *standing Armies* examined, 70—82—And against our Dependance on a *naval Force*, 92—His Arguments for a *standing Army* reduced to Anti-Syllogisms, 119—His Arguments on the same Subject farther exposed, 266.

Wards (Court of) how abolish'd in *England*, 30.

Wine; whether the *Excise-Scheme* would prevent the *Adulteration* of it, 260—The *Frauds* in it consider'd, 285.

Writers (ministerial) some Remarks on their Doctrines, 1—Their Inconsistencies and Contradictions, 121.

F I N I S.





